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Grinevskiy Cited on Situation at Vienna Talks

PM2812133189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 11

[Own correspondent S. Tosunyan dispatch: "Missed Opportunities"]

[Text] Vienna—Participants in the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces and confidence-building measures and security in Europe held closing plenary sessions before the Christmas vacations.

The submission by both sides of drafts of a future treaty on conventional arms in Europe has been unanimously described as the most important event of the fourth round which has just ended. This major step forward was achieved 1 week before the end of the round. After the Christmas recess, the talks' participants will embark on a detailed discussion of the drafts, article by article.

Coordination of the working texts concerning the exchange of information and verification is also regarded as a positive result here.

Nonetheless, not all the existing opportunities were translated into reality in the course of the past round. For instance, the NATO countries have failed to furnish a specific answer to the Warsaw Pact countries' cardinal proposal on aviation and on stabilization measures, although these proposals were submitted back in October and would have been conducive to the achievement of an accord on the main issues. In the working groups where experts are dealing with the coordination of definitions concerning tanks, armored fighting vehicles, and helicopters, it has not yet been possible to achieve accord.

Explaining the situation at the talks, O.A. Grinevskiy, the head of the Soviet delegation, said at a press conference that in his opinion the NATO mechanism for the adoption of decisions has lately seized up. Western countries have been more concerned with coordinating their own positions than with conducting talks.

Progress in the discussion of the question on troop reductions has been particularly slow. As is known, the Warsaw Pact countries are proposing to reduce not just arms but also personnel. In the present situation, this could be an important factor of stability. NATO countries are opposed to this proposal, but they are unable to furnish a reasonable explanation for their rejection of it.

The unsolved problems—of which not a few remain—will, of course, be resolved step by step. However, it is important for the sides to bear in mind and adhere to the objective of completing the work on an agreement on conventional armed forces in Europe in the coming year.

NATO Attitude Slows Talks

LD2812200889 Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 28 Dec 89

[From the "News and Views" program]

[Text] The head of the Soviet delegation to the Vienna talks on conventional Euro arsenals, special envoy Oleg Grinevskiy, has given a news conference here in Moscow at which he said in part:

[Begin Grinevskiy recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] The latest round of talks had its own specifics. Among our achievements we can list the advancement by both sides—that is, by the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO—of their own drafts of a would-be treaty on reductions in conventional armed forces in Europe. Although the two drafts reflect the differences remaining between the two blocs on a number of key issues, they have much in common in terms of their structure and content.

In brief, the negotiating parties have another package of issues to coordinate, and their efforts in that area can be expected to be fruitful. Progress was made during the latest round of talks also in coordinating what are known to be working issues concerning exchanges of information and verification. In that area, however, our achievements have been rather modest. Many may remember that as early as last October, the Warsaw Treaty's delegation advanced a package of meaningful proposals related to air forces, verification and stability building measures devised to facilitate headway along the key directions of negotiations. We pointed out at the time that progress in both the fourth round and the whole of the Vienna talks would depend to a considerable extent on NATO's reaction to our new proposals.

The fourth round of talks is over but we are still awaiting response to our proposals. Our negotiations have become less dynamic. I could even suggest we've begun marking time. My impression is that the NATO nations spent the whole of the latest session in Vienna holding talks, not so much with the Warsaw Treaty as with each other. That cannot but cause concern, particularly in the light of the statements which the Warsaw Treaty and NATO's leaders have made to the effect that agreement on conventional Euro arsenals could be reached next year already. Obviously talks have slowed down because of the stand adopted by NATO. What we can witness now is a distinct gap between the political will announced at top level and the specific results achieved at Vienna. [end recording]

Soviet Commander on Troop Withdrawals in Hungary

LD2812212789 Budapest MTI in English 1759 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 28 (MTI)—Colonel General Matvey Burlakov, commander of the Soviet Southern Army Group, who deals with the affairs of the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary on commission from the Soviet Government, gave a statement on Thursday [28 December] to the Hungarian news agency MTI, on the current situation of troop withdrawals and the schedule for 1990.

Mr Burlakov said that, in accordance with the latest decision of the Soviet Government, recently published in the Hungarian and Soviet press, further military units are to be withdrawn from the area of the Republic of Hungary in 1990. These are an air wing, a rifle regiment, two armoured car battalions and other units. The Soviet troops stationed in Hungary will be cut by more than 6,000 soldiers, more than 40 aircraft, 120 tanks, about 180 armoured vehicles, and more than 400 cars.

Colonel General Burlakov stressed that this decision of the Soviet Government results in troop reductions over the earlier unilateral withdrawal. When making the decision, the request of Debrecen residents was also taken into consideration: They asked that the Soviet air unit stationed near the city be re-located somewhere else as it was very near the residential area. This unit will also be withdrawn from Hungary next year. The additional reduction of Soviet troops is part of implementing the new Soviet military defence doctrine, the switch to the principle of rational, sufficient defence.

Question: The partial withdrawal of Soviet troops from the areas of the Republic of Hungary began in 1989. What has happened so far and which units are to leave Hungary by the end of 1990, under the terms of both the earlier and the most recent decision?

'On the basis of the Soviet Government's decision, as part of the unilateral reduction of Soviet armed forces and armaments, a complete tank division, an armoured vehicle training regiment, a fighter plane regiment, and several other units are to be withdrawn from Hungary. In totality, more than 10,000 soldiers, 470 tanks, more than 200 guns and trench mortars, more than 3,000 cars and other military vehicles have left Hungary for the Soviet Union. This decision already envisaged the withdrawal of further units from Hungary for 1990, the staff of which stands at around 2,000.

'On the basis of all these, the forces and staff of the Soviet troops stationed on the area of Hungary will be reduced in totality by more than 30 units, and about 18,000 soldiers will leave Hungary', Colonel General Burlakov went on to note.

'The announced troop withdrawal is progressing according to plans, as a result of which the Soviet units leaving Hungary have handed over many barracks, training bases and residential buildings to the Hungarian side. Soviet units have also been withdrawn from the Hungarian-Austrian border zone, and a "zone of confidence" has thus come about. The vicinity of Budapest has also become more quiet, the air unit stationed at Tokol no longer disturbs the residents of Budapest's southern districts as the fighter plane regiment earlier stationed there has been withdrawn. The withdrawal of Soviet troops has, and continues to be realized in the spirit of openness and publicity.'

Question: What is expected with respect to the further reduction of Soviet troops? When will the troops be fully withdrawn from the area of Hungary?

'The speed with which the strength of the Soviet troops should be reduced, when and how these should be withdrawn, falls under the competence of the Warsaw Treaty member states. All this is in close connection with the pan-European arms reduction and disarmament process, and the state and progress of the Vienna arms reduction talks. The stationing of Soviet troops in Hungary can be explained exclusively with strategic reasons, as the southern wing of the NATO united armed forces has a considerable power superiority. Therefore, the further reduction of troops can be realized only in a well-considered manner. A condition of further troop reductions is that these take place in a balanced manner, on a parity basis', Colonel General Burlakov said in conclusion.

Strategic Nuclear Forces To Retain Major Role

PM2712111389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Dec 89 First Edition p 2

[Colonel A. Belousov feature incorporating interview with Colonel General S.G. Kochemasov, chief of the Strategic Rocket Forces Main Staff: "Thirtieth Anniversary of Strategic Rocket Forces. Missiles and People"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In a conversation with Col Gen Stanislav Grigoryevich Kochemasov, chief of the Strategic Rocket Forces Main Staff, I asked:

[Belousov] How do you assess the Rocket Forces' prospects in terms of the impending further reduction in strategic arms and the overall drop in defense expenditure?

[Kochemasov] We regard the current lowering of international tension and the switch from the arms race to treaty-based mutual relations as the main result of the Rocket Forces' 30-year development. In order to convince the United States to come to the negotiating table we had to deploy almost 1,400 intercontinental ballistic missiles [ICBM] with an enormous nuclear potential. The reduced level of nuclear confrontation is advantageous to both sides, inasmuch as this reduces the threat of nuclear weapons being used. The terms "defense sufficiency" and "strategic parity" have already become a part of all countries' political life.

At the same time, we realize that a further reduction in international tension will largely depend on the development of strategic arms. Successes in science and engineering and the development of modern technologies are creating prerequisites for the development of new strategic weapons by the U.S. military-industrial complex. A new generation of offensive arms (the MX, Trident-2, and Midgetman missile systems, B-2 bombers, and cruise missiles) has been created and is being developed in the United States. Large-scale programs have been mounted to create third-generation nuclear weapons with a radius of effect of hundreds and thousands of km, a ground-and-space-based antiballistic missile [ABM] system (the SDI program), and nonnuclear-armed high-precision weapons.

The Rocket Forces have great potential to match the U.S. programs at a minimum level of expenditure. This is conditioned by the specific characteristics of the Rocket Forces, which possess exceptionally high combat readiness, tenacity, and the ability to implement asymmetric countermeasures in the event of a large-scale ABM deployment [razvertyvaniye] in the United States. On the whole, analysis shows that not a single U.S. program will be able to give the United States a decisive unilateral advantage. We believe that mutual realization of the impossibility of achieving unilateral advantages must be the basis for further reducing strategic arms and implementing our peace initiatives.

[Belousov] Will the Rocket Forces retain their role as the main component of Soviet strategic nuclear forces in the event of a 50% reduction in strategic offensive weapons, and is there any need to seek to maintain this role?

[Kochemasov] I think that, even given deep cuts in strategic offensive armaments, there is no need to upset the historically formed correlations between the components of the country's strategic nuclear forces. I am not saying this because I am a representative of the Rocket Forces. Any change in the prevailing structure would entail not only considerable outlays to develop those strategic nuclear force components in which we lag behind the United States but also to an inevitable decline in their overall potential—that is, to the disruption of the strategic nuclear parity.

So I believe that, thanks to their inherent characteristics—high combat readiness, the number and power of their weapons, enhanced accuracy, the ability to strike targets no matter how well defended and at any distance, efficiency and flexibility in battle control, high survivability, and also a lower relative cost—the Strategic Rocket Forces will maintain their leading role as part of the Soviet strategic nuclear forces even in the event of a 50% reduction in strategic offensive arms.

Continuing U.S. Naval Superiority Examined

PM2712143789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Dec 89 Second Edition p 6

[PRAVDA political observer Vsevolod Ovchinnikov article: "Threat From the Seas" under the rubric "View from Moscow"]

[Text] The outgoing year has strengthened the hope of doing away with the "cold war" and ushering in a peaceful period in the history of Europe and all mankind. The visits to Great Britatin, the FRG, France, Finland, and Italy by the head of the Soviet state and his meeting with the U.S. President off the coast of Malta made the transition from military confrontation to the building of a common European home still more real. The coming year, 1990, could be marked not only by a new meeting of the 35 participants of the all-European process, Helsinki-2, but also by important steps along the path of disarmament and of diminishing the nuclear threat.

But the more vigorously disarmament on dry land is effected, the more dangerous becomes the destabilizing role of sea-based instruments of combat. As noted recently at the CPSU Central Committee December Plenum, it is time to start talks concerning the naval forces of the USSR and United States. When arms reduction is moving ahead in all directions, the Soviet Union cannot reconcile itself to the threat to its security originating from the seas and oceans.

Having at its disposal enormous missile and artillery might, aircraft, and landing forces, a modern navy is capable not only of fighting at sea but also of energetically influencing the course of combat operations on land. It is therefore senseless to talk about the transfer to a defensive doctrine while ignoring the potential of naval forces. In recent years the Soviet Union has repeatedly proposed specific steps aimed at curbing the arms race on the seas. During his recent visit to Italy, M.S. Gorbachev declared that the package of Soviet proposals which he put forward in spring 1988 in the Yugoslav capital remains in force. They confirm the readiness for the withdrawal of the USSR and U.S. navies from the Mediterranean Sea on the basis of reciprocity; and meanwhile it is proposed that their numerical stength and potential should not be increased, that pending the agreement on common confidence-building measures there should be prior mutual notification of movements of warships, that observers be invited to maneuvers, and that principles and methods should be drawn up to ensure the safety of busy shipping lanes, especially in international straits.

It was decided at the Vienna meeting that a conference be held, in the context of the all-European process, devoted specially to Mediterranean Sea problems. It is to take place in the fall of next year in the city of Palma on the Spanish island of Mallorca. So that that meeting may produce results worthy of the present period of profound change in Europe, the Soviet Union has put forward a number of constructive intitiatives as preparation for the meeting. They were made public by M.S. Gorbachev during his recent visit to Italy. It is proposed that an interparliamentary group and a scientific and technical group be established to elaborate on the problems to be tackled by the conference, that East-West contacts be established on economic problems of the Mediterranean Sea, that one should embark on an exchange of views on multilateral steps to avert incidents at sea and in the airspace over the sea, and that consultations be begun regarding the expediency of the permamnent presence of USSR and U.S. Naval forces in the Mediterranean Sea.

The Mediterranean Sea can be called the "sunny side" of the all-European home, and the Apennine Peninsula one of the key features of its southern facade. It therefore seems extremely important that the joint Soviet-Italian declaration officially enshrines the intention of the two states to cooperate in ensuring that the new positive development should not be limited to the confines of the European continent, but should extend to the Mediterreanean Basin.

As for the northern side of the all-European home, much has already been done for its security through the joint efforts of the USSR and Finland. The Soviet Union highly evaluates Finland's initiative—which is supported by neighboring countries—to create a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe; and it is confirming by specific steps its readiness to meet halfway this desire on the part of the region's peoples. The USSR has embarked unilaterally on the elimination of certain categories of sea-based nuclear weapons in the Baltic. By the end of 1990 all six submarines known in the West as Golf-class submarines will have been withdrawn from the force composition, and the nuclear missiles earmarked for their armament will have been destroyed. Moscow is prepared to reach agreement with all interested parties on effective guarantees of the Baltic's nuclear-free status.

If we are to talk about the Soviet naval group stationed primarily on the Kola Peninsula, the question of reducing these sea-based strategic forces can be resolved only on a global scale. Unfortunately the winds of the "cold war" continue to blow on the seas washing the Old World. The appeal of the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet to parliamentarians of the states of northern Europe, the United States, and Canada notes that at a time when mutual trust is strengthening on the European continent and the preconditions are being created for new steps along the path of disarmament, the arms race is continuing on the maritime expanses of this region. The United States and NATO are building up their naval forces and air forces in the North Atlantic, expanding the activity of these in the Baltic, North, Norwegian, and Greenland Seas, and are intensively using their submarines to open up the Arctic region.

This reflects the essence of the Pentagon's maritime strategy. Official U.S. circles are refusing point-blank to extend any forms of arms control whatsoever to cover naval forces. The same argument to justify this is adduced at all levels: "The fact is, the United States is a maritime power whereas the Soviet Union is a land power."

I shall not discuss the geopolitical contentiousness of this thesis. It transpires that it is possible and necessary to strive to achieve parity in ground forces with a "land power." But if a "maritime power" possesses superiority on the seas there can, allegedly, be no question any kind of balance of power.

U.S. naval forces already surpass Soviet naval forces twice over in total tonnage, 2.5 times in terms of large surface ships and naval aircraft, and 19 times in terms of the numerical strength of marines. Moreover, geography itself is much more favorable to the U.S. Navy than to the Soviet Navy, which has an outlet to the ocean only in the north.

Washington justifies its stake on naval superiority with the idea of "forward-based defense." Its true essence is imperial "gunboat diplomacy." But this brainchild of the 19th Century is unusally tenacioius of life, as is borne out by the present U.S. aggression against Panama and the aspirations to preserve U.S. strategic positions in the Canal Zone at any price.

Nor should the 1,500 U.S. bases—including naval bases—whose goal is to girdle the Soviet borders, be forgotten. Let us assume that the USSR and the United States were to halve their strategic nuclear arsenals and that the Warsaw Pact and NATO were to radically reduce their armed forces and conventional arms in Europe. If, in those circumstances, the U.S. Navy and the U.S. bases surrrounding the USSR were to remain inviolate, the military threat to the Soviet Union would not diminish but intensify. I doubt that Moscow would agree to go along with that.

It is impossible to successfully further the disarmament process as a whole while leaving untouched by negotiations a branch of the armed forces like the navy. I believe that the gamble on U.S. naval superiority is an attempt to strengthen its own security at the expense of the other side's security. This jeopardizes much of what has been achieved of late and serves as an obstacle to the transition toward nonoffensive defense. One would like to hope that Washington will heed the appeal which rang out from the rostrum of the CPSU Central Committee December Plenum: Negotiations concerning the naval forces of the USSR and the United States must be started without delay and also concerning the total elimination of sea-based tactical nuclear weapons.

1989 Disarmament Progress Reviewed

LD2512144189 Moscow TASS in English 1417 GMT 25 Dec 89

["Relaxation: The Outgoing and Coming Year"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow December 25 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent:

In the outgoing year progress in the effort to improve international relations, relax tension and lessen confrontation was largely predetermined by the Soviet Union's concrete steps in disarmament.

According to information received at the Press Centre of the Soviet Defence Ministry, Soviet Armed Forces were cut by 265,000 men by the end of the current year as a result of the unilateral large-scale reduction of Soviet Armed Forces. Decommissioned from the Soviet Army and Navy were more than 9,000 tanks, over 5,000 artillery systems, more than 800 military aircraft and 40 warships. Withdrawn from the territories of the Soviet Union's European allies were three out of the six tank divisions slated for reduction. All the three have been disbanded. Withdrawn from these groups of Soviet forces were also other units, large quantities of hardware, including 500 nuclear tactical warheads.

The Group of Soviet Forces in the East has also been reduced appreciably. By the end of 1990 the Soviet Union wil unilaterally cut its armed forces by 500,000 men, 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems and 820 warplanes. This goes to show that the purely defensive Soviet military doctrine is being steadily implemented.

The changes now taking place in the Soviet Armed Forces are aimed at maintaining the Army's and Navy's proper combat capacity at minimum expenditures. It is to guarantee reliably, at the same time, the country's security within reasonal sufficiency levels. These levels depend not only on the Soviet Union, of course. Unfortunately, definite Western circles have still not given up the positions of strength policy. This is illustrated, for instance, by Washington's military action against Panama.

The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is one of the most important events of the outgoing year. Not a single Soviet soldier is now taking part in any military actions abroad. This, without doubt, is a contribution to the easing of international tension.

The December Soviet-American Malta summit has opened concrete possibilities for reaching major agreements on arms reduction, the strengthening of confidence and security in Europe and the world over already next year. They include the completion of the Soviet unilateral reduction of armed forces by half a million men, the complete liquidation of Soviet and American middle- and shorter-range missiles, the conclusion of a Soviet-American agreement on a 50-per cent reduction of strategic offensive weapons, an agreement on a radical reduction of chemical weapons, and also a multilaterral agreement to reduce conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe.

Much has been done this year to promote contacts in the political and military spheres between the USSR and the United States, between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the North-Atlantic Alliance. Expansion and deepening of the East-West military dialogue was promoted by the visits of the Soviet defence minister to the United States, Great Britain and other countries, the visit paid by the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to the NATO Headquarters in Brussels and his talks with NATO General Secretary Manfred Woerner, by the visits of high-ranking Western military leaders to the Soviet Union.

The signing this year of the Soviet-American agreement on the prevention of dangerous military activity contributes to the strengthening of international security. In keeping with this document, warships, aircraft and ground flight control stations of the Soviet and American armed forces have checked early this December the possibility of establishing radio contacts in the Bering Sea and the Meditterranean. This fact, it is believed in the Press Centre of the Soviet Defence Ministry, can be assessed as a reciprocal desire to avoid any incidents liable to occur due to the incapablity of the two sides to contact each other.

There is every reason to expect the new year to lay the beginning for new negotiations and to bring mankind closer to a nuclear-free non-violent world, to a world which will be safe for everybody.

Public Movement Wants Nuclear Tests Halted

90UI0232A Moscow TRUD in Russian 22 Dec 89 p 4

[Article by TRUD correspondent O. Kvyatkovskiy: "People and Bombs"]

[Text] A call for speeding up the solution of problems connected with nuclear tests on the territory of Kazakhstan has been heard from Semipalatinsk in unusual and pointed form. An interregional conference has been held here of representatives of the public and the work force, which chose for the discussion of matters of concern to everyone the procedure of an open judicial hearing. The public court resolved to demand a halt to nuclear testing at the Semipalatinsk Test Range and to promote an immediate recovery in the ecological situation in the region and the creation of a network of medical establishments up to modern requirements.

The principal organizers of this action were activists of the Nevada-Semipalatinsk Movement.

When the Nevada-Semipalatinsk public movement was born 9 months ago, few people took it seriously in Moscow, in Alma-Ata, and at the test range itself. After all, what were they—the shepherds and students, construction workers and grain growers, writers and physicians—confronting? An ultra-secret facility which had been in existence for 40 years....

No, the curtain is not now falling on but falling away from this "secret." Secret? The whole world has long known of the city of Kurchatov with the small house for U.S. specialists. And the sunken rust-colored mounds and fissures in the ground at the test range have long since been plotted from space.

"We are already seeing real results from our activity," Olzhas Suleymenov, USSR people's deputy, commentator, poet, and initiator and leader of the Nevada-Semipalatinsk Movement, says. "Instead of the 18 explosions at Semipalatinsk planned for this year, only 7 have been heard. And there will be none through the end of January."

The movement does not have avowed opponents in principle nor could it have any; after all, its goal is simple and humane to a degree: the banning of nuclear testing both in Kazakhstan and throughout the world. And the main weapon for achieving this is the unity and concord of both the participants and potential partners in the shape of government institutions and similar international organizations.

The country had no experience of such actions. And perhaps the first real victory of the Nevada-Semipalatinsk Movement was the fact that the intensity of all passions and emotions was immediately converted into a chain of consistent and prudent actions. These included an interregional scientific-practical conference with the participation of prominent scientists of the country, a peace action for a halt to nuclear testing, and a test explosion in the presence of representatives of the public of a number of oblasts of Kazakhstan and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic].

The Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace and the Nevada-Semipalatinsk Movement are insisting on the publication of statistical data on the 40 years of testing at the range. The committee also has donated some of its foreign currency resources for the construction of a children's diagnostic regional center in Semipalatinsk. A medical-ecological conference to which scientists of many countries will be invited is being prepared.

Finally, the republic Supreme Soviet has appealed to the USSR Government and the USSR people's deputies for the closure of the Semipalatinsk Test Range.

A group of USSR ministry and department executives recently visited the Semipalatinsk Irtysh region at the behest of the CPSU Central Committee and the country's government.

"A platform is being prepared in the country's government on the basis of which, I believe, it will be perfectly possible to find ways of halting nuclear testing at the range," I. Belousov, leader of that group and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, said. "And although this cannot be achieved in one day, nonetheless we will persistently aspire to the goal and seek the most appropriate solution. .."

Meanwhile, the leaders of the Nevada-Semipalatinsk Movement have embarked on preparations for a congress of voters of the world against nuclear weapons. They contemplate holding it next spring in Alma-Ata. The first action committee international agreement on a complete ban on the production, testing, and proliferation of nuclear weapons could be born there too, and an agreement on a common instruction from the electorates of various countries to their members of parliament and leaders. After all, this—compelling the silence of one test range—would be little enough for peace worldwide. Only when all the bombs are vanquished will anxiety leave all hearts.

China

Reportage on Visit to China by CPSU's Falin

Meets With CPC's Jiang Zemin

LD2812202989 Moscow TASS in English 2014 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Beijing December 28 TASS—General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Jiang Zemin today received Valentin Falin, member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and chief of the International Department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, who heads a party delegation staying here.

Falin handed over to Jiang Zemin a message from Mikhail Gorbachev.

Expressing gratitude for the message and for earlier received letters from Gorbachev to Deng Xiaoping and to Jiang Zemin, the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party said that they will be carefully studied.

During the conversation which passed in a comradely atmosphere the sides noted the development of relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, between the Soviet Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party in accordance with the arrangements achieved during Gorbachev's visit to China on the basis of the principles agreed upon.

Jiang Zemin summed up the tasks of the Chinese Communists at the present stage. He emphasised the resolve to continue the work under the party's guidance to perfect socialist society, to implement the programme of reforms and openness to the world.

Falin spoke about the approaches of the Soviet Communist Party to topical problems of socialist renewal in the spirit of the decisions of the latest plenums of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

The sides exchanged opinions on some aspects of the international situation, specifically, the situation in East European countries.

Jiang Stresses Noninterference

OW2812155089 Beijing XINHUA in English 1441 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Beijing, December 28 (XINHUA)—Sino-Soviet relations will develop steadily on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in line with the spirit of the Sino-Soviet summit held last May and the agreement concluded then.

The remarks were made this afternoon by Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), when he met with Valentin Mikhaylovich Falin, director of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

Jiang said that the relations between the CPC and the CPSU will also grow steadily on the basis of the four principles of interparty relations.

Jiang said, "China is a socialist country and, naturally, we cannot but be concerned over the developments in the other socialist countries. But the Chinese people respect the historic choices made by the people of other countries and will never interfere in the affairs of other countries," he said. "We also oppose other countries interfering in our internal affairs," he added.

Talking about Falin's recent visit to the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone, Jiang said, "China began to construct the four special economic zones at the beginning of the 1980s, and at that time I was one of the people in charge of their construction." He said, "it has already been shown that our open policies have scored great achievements." He pointed out that the reforms are the self-perfection of the socialist system and they must adhere to the correct direction. "We must stick to the CPC's leadership and the socialist road. This has been decreed by China's history and the road chosen by the Chinese people," he stressed.

During the meeting, Falin presented Jiang with a letter written by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Jiang expressed his thanks to Falin for the letter and to the Soviet ambassador, who had also passed on letters from Gorbachev to Jiang and Deng Xiaoping. Falin conveyed Gorbachev's regards to Jiang and Jiang also asked him to convey his regards to Gorbachev.

Zhu Liang, member of the CPC Central Committee and head of the International Liaison Department of the CPC Central Committee, and O.A. Troyanovskiy, Soviet ambassador to China, were present at the meeting.

Zhu Liang held talks with Falin December 24 and 25, and they informed each other of the domestic affairs of their respective countries and exchanged views on international situations and issues of common concern. Falin and his party arrived in Beijing December 23. They visited Guangzhou and Shenzhen, and will return home tomorrow.

Departs Beijing for Home

LD2912072289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0710 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Beijing, 29 Dec (TASS)—A party delegation headed by V.M. Falin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, has left Beijing for home on completion of a week-long visit to China.

The delegation was seen off at the capital's airport by Zhu Liang, member of the CPC Central Committee and head of the International Liaison Department of the

CPC Central Committee, and by O.A. Troyanovskiy, USSR ambassador to the PRC.

Jiang Zemin Says Open Policy Unchanged

PM2812151189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Dec 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Implementing Reform Policy"]

[Text] Beijing, 27 Dec—Speaking during a recent inspection visit to the eastern Chinese Province of Fujian, Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, appealed for an even better and faster implementation in the Chinese coastal regions of the policies of reform and openness with respect to the outside world.

At a meeting with veterans of the revolutionary struggle, RENMIN RIBAO writes, the CPC leader called on people "to become properly involved in party building, military organizational development, and political and ideological work," and to support and develop revolutionary traditions.

Meeting with the managers of a number of enterprises, which were set up by China in conjunction with firms from the United States, Japan, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Macao, Jiang Zemin noted that the Chinese policy of reform and openness cannot by any means change because of the political disturbances that took place in June of this year. "Upholding the four cardinal principles and the struggle against bourgeois liberalization is not damaging to the interests of foreign investors, but on the contrary gives them better guarantees," he stated.

Symposium on RSFSR-PRC Ties Opens in Moscow

Vinogradov Cited on Trade Ties

OW2612131889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] An academic symposium to promote contacts between the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and China was held on 12 December at the Far East Institute under the Soviet Academy of Sciences. The symposium focused on the possibilities and prospects for developing RSFSR-China relations. The symposium was sponsored jointly by the RSFSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Far East Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Our station reporter attended the symposium as an observer and reported as follows:

Representatives from various RSFSR ministries and commissions, border regions, and oblasts, academic organizations in Siberia and the Far East, and the various scientific research organizations under the Soviet Academy of Sciences attended the symposium. Titarenko, doctor of philosophy and head of the Far East Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, delivered an opening speech. He also read a letter of greetings from Vlasov, chairman of the Presidium of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, in which he wished the symposium every success. At the symposium, Vinogradov, RSFSR minister of foreign affairs, gave a report on Soviet-Chinese relations, the contacts between the RSFSR and China, and the significance of expanding such relations. He also pointed out the significance of developing cooperation between the various RSFSR oblasts and China's various provinces, particularly those in the northeast part of that country.

Vinogradov said: The Soviet Far East and China's northeast provinces are natural partners for mutual cooperation. Favorable conditions exist in these regions for promoting mutual cooperation, thanks to the frequent economic contacts between the two areas. Following the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting in Beijing last May, the question about the role of the RSFSR in promoting economic cooperation with China, particularly with those provinces in northeast China, has aroused attention.

Comrade Vinogradov said: We have already witnessed vigorous economic development between the RSFSR and China. For example, the volume of barter trade between the RSFSR and China's Heilongjiang Province reached 600 million Swiss francs in 1988, and is expected to reach 1 billion Swiss francs in the future. There are great prospects for developing economic, scientific, cultural, and educational cooperation between the Soviet republic and the various provinces in northeast China, because both the RSFSR and those Chinese provinces share a common aspiration to strengthen such cooperation.

In conclusion, Vinogradov said: This type of cooperation is beneficial for the interests of the two peoples.

Titarenko, head of the Far East Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and other scholars also presented reports on the possibilities, prospects, and future with regard to promoting economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and China.

The symposium is still in session at this moment.

Seminar Concludes 13 Dec

OW2412102189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Dear listeners: A scientific seminar to discuss the possibilities and prospects of developing relations between the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and China closed in Moscow on 13 December. It was jointly sponsored by the RSFSR Foreign Ministry and the Far East Institute under the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Attending the meeting were representatives from the various ministries and commissions of the RSFSR, kray and oblast committees, scientific research institutes in Siberia and the Far East, as well as some other institutes under the USSR Academy of Sciences.

During the 2-day session the participants discussed in detail the possibilities and prospects of developing economic relations between the Soviet Union and China, particularly between the RSFSR, Siberia and Soviet Far East and the northeastern provinces of China. Economic cooperation was also discussed.

Kireyev, chief of the Socialist Countries of Asia Administration under the Soviet Foreign Ministry, delivered a speech at the meeting. Vinogradov, Foreign minister of the RSFSR, delivered a speech to sum up the work of the meeting.

[Vinogradov is heard briefly, speaking in Russian] He said: First, I want to point out that we have discussed a very important topic in Soviet-Chinese relations. The RSFSR Foreign Ministry has jointly sponsored a scientific seminar with the research institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences for the first time. This experience proved very successful. The meeting was necessary and timely.

As reform is proceeding in depth in the Soviet Union, new forms of economic management are taking shape. In economic relations with foreign countries and other areas, the powers and capabilities of all union republics, administratrive regions, joint production companies, and enterprises are expanding. All this has created favorable conditions for the RSFSR to develop economic and trade relations, among other relations, with China, primarily the northeastern provinces of China.

In conclusion, Vinogradov said: Participants in the meeting presented many valuable suggestions on developing cooperation between these areas. The departments concerned will examine these suggestions, which will promote development of Soviet-Chinese cooperation.

Northeast Asia

Reportage on Fishery Talks With Japan

Ministry Cited on Talks

OW2312053689 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] According to inquiries made by Moscow Radio reporters at the Soviet Ministry of Fish Industry, the Soviet-Japanese talks on fishing in the 200-nautical-mile economic zone have not been able to reach agreement thus far.

During the talks the Soviet side asked that Japanese fishing boats stop using dragnets in walleye pollack fishing in the Pacific near the Kuriles Islands. The Japanese side refused, thus leading to a deadlock. This issue has [words indistinct] since the 1986 negotiations on fishing in the 200-nautical-mile economic zone. The Soviet side has made concessions each time and postponed solution of the problem to the following year. The Soviet Union recently decided to set new rules for Soviet and Japanese fishermen in the 200-nautical-mile zone as of 1 January 1990. Dragnet fishing is expected to be banned. This measure has become necessary in order to utilize fishery resources more rationally and for ecological reasons. Together with this, the Soviet side also proposed to freeze the total number of Japanese fishing boats, including dragnet fishing boats, entering Soviet waters, as well as the volume of the catch. These dragnet fishing boats will be allowed to catch other varieties of fish, but not walleye pollack.

On the other hand, walleye pollack fishing [words indistinct] will be permitted. Soviet experts have pointed out that there should be no technical difficulties for Japanese fishing boats to shift from low-level to mid-level trawls.

Agreement on Quotas Reported

OW2412141589 Tokyo KYODO in English 1254 GMT 24 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, Dec. 24 KYODO—Japan and the Soviet Union agreed in principle Sunday to allocate 182,000 tons in fishing quotas without payment for next year in each other's 200-mile economic zones, officials said.

The two countries also agreed to allocate 35,000 tons as Japan's fishing quota in the region between 46 degrees and 35 minutes north latitude on the Pacific side of the Kuril Islands.

Sino-Japanese 'Special Relations' Viewed

OW2212043589 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] The Moscow newspaper PRAVDA has carried an article by journalist (Tabloskiy) on Sino-Japanese relations. Let us introduce excerpts from the article:

The relations between China and many countries deteriorated in the aftermath of the Tiananmen Square incident in June. The advanced Western nations and Japan imposed economic and financial sanctions and restricted business and tourist travel. However, such sanctions have now been either reduced or completely lifted. The Japanese leaders rationalized their position by the so-called special relations with China and have restored bilateral relations, which had been temporarily impeded, earlier than any other country.

Sino-Japanese relations have a history of several centuries, and these special relations with China befit such a long history. However, official ties between Japan and China have a much shorter history. Postwar diplomatic relations were only restored in 1972, and a treaty of peace and friendship was signed 6 years later.

The level of Sino-Japanese relations reached so far is spectacular. Japan has become a major Chinese trading partner, and Japanese investment in China ranks behind only that of Hong Kong and the United States, reaching 2 billion dollars. Japan is the primary aid donor to China. Cultural exchanges have also grown steadily. More and more Chinese students wish to study in Japan.

On the Japanese side, after the TV series "Silk Road" was shown in the early 1980's, a China fever started.

However, there are also difficult problems in Sino-Japanese relations. Conservative Japanese politicians attempt to delete accounts of the Japanese invasion of China in textbooks, and Cabinet members visit the Yasukuni Shrine. These have given rise to serious problems. Moreover, the territorial dispute over the Senkaku Islands still remains in the bilateral agenda. For sure, the late Premier Zhou Enlai and former Prime Minister Tanaka agreed in 1972 to leave the solution of the problem to the next generation. Yet, one cannot deny that this remains an unpleasant issue today.

Furthermore, Japan's close relations with Taiwan run counter to the Chinese side's basic principles. There are also many difficulties in the political and economic aspects. In recent years China has continued to suffer a huge deficit in the trade balance. What is more annoying for China is that Japan hesitates to supply advanced technology and invest in big projects in China. On top of these, the fact that the Chinese and Japanese people tend to attempt to understand each other emotionally is creating difficulties.

The scale of the special relations between Japan and China so far is very large. This includes both accomplishments in various aspects and serious problems. However, on the whole, the balance sheet is on the positive side. This fact enabled Japan and China to overcome the various trials in their past relations.

Japan, China, and the Soviet Union are all major powers in the Far East. The Soviet Union hopes for the steady development of Sino-Japanese relations, which have great significance for peace and security in the Asia and Pacific region.

Progress Seen in DPRK-ROK Preparatory Talks

SK2712112789 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Feature program: "Focus on Asia"]

[Text] In a regular contact for preparation for the North-South talks, great progress has been made between delegates of the DPRK and ROK. Both sides reached agreement upon the name, the members of the delegations, and the date of the talks. In the future these talks will be named the North-South high-level talks. Delegations, which are led by the DPRK head of the Administration Council and the ROK prime minister as chief delegates, will participate in the talks.

Pyongyang Railway Delegation Visits USSR

SK2812130289 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 21 Dec 89

[From the "Annals of Friendship" program; report by unidentified station reporter]

[Text] A delegation of the Pyongyang Railway Station, a primary-level organization of the Korea-Soviet Friendship Society, visited our country at the invitation of the Soviet-Korean Friendship Society Central Executive Committee. The delegation was led by Station Master (Ho Song-man). A station reporter reports:

The two workers' groups of (Warsingun) Station and Pyongyang Station have maintained friendly relations for several years. A delegation from Moscow visited the DPRK last year, and a delegation of the Korean railway station came here on a return visit this year.

Soviet comrades prepared a diverse itinerary for them. The DPRK guests closely watched the operation of [passage indistinct] This is because the Moscow railway workers and the railway workers of Pyongyang Railway Station are carrying out the same tasks. That is: Improving [words indistinct] for passengers to ensure that they enjoy the best conveniences. How is this problem being solved in Moscow? To see how this problem is being solved, the Korean comrades inspected reception rooms, compartments for [words indistinct], emergency rooms, inns near railway stations, the Central Railway Bureau, and other places.

(Warsingun) Station is the biggest not only in Moscow but also in the country. [passage indistinct] This station links the capital of the Soviet Union with (?North Europe) and [word indistinct]. Trains bound for the PRC, the Mongolian People's Republic, and the DPRK leave from this station. The delegation of Pyongyang Station inspected the Central Railway Bureau for several hours. This railway bureau is situated in a 21-story building and equipped with computers and other electronic devices. These electronic devices [words indistinct] trains. [Words indistinct] is connected to approximately 2,000 ticket offices in Moscow and its vicinity.

The Korean railway workers also inspected [words indistinct] and understood the activities of [words indistinct]. They also inspected the Central Cultural Hall for railway workers. There are facilities where railway workers can joyfully spend their leisure hours. There is also a big library and [words indistinct]. Artists from Moscow and other cities in the country and foreign artists perform there.

The delegation of Pyongyang visited Minsk, the capital of Belorussia. They inspected [words indistinct] in the city and met with railway workers in Belorussia. They also visited [name indistinct] plant.

Officials of Pyongyang Railway Station were received by Gennadiy Korenko, deputy Soviet minister of railways and member of the Soviet-Korea Friendship Society Central Executive Committee.

In explaining his impression from his visit to the Soviet Union, Comrade (Ho Song-man), head of the delegation, thanked the Soviet comrades for extending a warm reception. He also said their visit to the Soviet Union was very helpful and [passage indistinct]

Joint Clam Cultivation With DPRK Planned

SK2912005189 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 21 Dec 89

[From the "Feature Program on Primorskiy Kray"; talk on joint clam cultivation between the Primorskiy Kray and North Hamgyong Province of the DPRK]

[Excerpts] Meetings between fishermen of the Soviet Far East and the DPRK held thus far have discussed the need to establish a joint venture enterprise in the field of marine products. Such a joint venture would be favorable for both sides. According to an agreement reached at a recent meeting of the Soviet-Korean governmental fisheries committee, a measure has been taken in this field.

(Anatoliy Washikov), officer in charge of a marine experiment base in (Osiatu), said as follows: [Brief recording in Russian fading into Korean translation] Our marine experiment base in (Osiatu) was founded in 1973, and since then the base has been engaged in culturing mollusk. At present, only two kinds of marine products have been sold in markets; they are clam and [word indistinct]. Oysters are now in an experiment stage. A group of 34 marine products experts from North Hamgyong Province of the DPRK visited our experiment base in August this year to exchange their experience on clam culture. It requires 3 years to cultivate clams. [passage omitted]

Now, let us listen to the opinion of the Korean technicians on the joint marine products cultivation work. Comrade Choe Ki-hyop, leader of the group of marine products cultivation experts from North Hamgyong Province, said as follows:

[Begin Choe recording] Friendly relations between Korea and the Soviet Union have been maintained for a long time. Furthermore, the great leader met Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, head of state of the Soviet Union, in 1986. He also met cadre members of the Soviet Far East region in (Hassan) in 1988 and discussed the matter on mutual cooperation between the two countries in various fields. Based on this, we have come to this country to further promote friendly relations between the two countries. We have already established clam cultivation farms in (Bositu) Bay. I think that the future prospect of clam cultivation is bright. Many Soviet friends are extending active cooperation to us. So I think there will great success in our work here. [end recording]

Listening to such optimistic remarks by Choe Ki-hyop, we can firmly believe that the establishment of a joint enterprise between the two countries to cultivate clams in the sea will be realized in the near future.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Commentary Views Asian Reaction to Malta Meeting

HK2712042989 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Commentary by Aleksandr Vladimirov]

[Text] What was the reaction of the Asia-Pacific countries to the meeting held in the Mediterranean Ocean near Malta between Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union and George Bush of the United States? Most Asian analysts welcomed the declaration made on the eve of the meeting by both leaders, representing the NATO and Warsaw Pact nations, that the process of the normalization of relations between both countries would be speeded up. Such a process would undoubtedly have an effect on the situation in the Asia-Pacific region.

But will this happen soon? Such a question cannot be easily answered, especially since military antagonism in the Asia-Pacific region hinges on the actions of the larger nations' naval forces. But there is a big change taking place between the U.S. and the USSR, as far as naval forces are concerned. The Soviet Union's position on this is clear: It plans to cut down its naval force in the Pacific in response to proposals contained in what is known as the Vladivostok Initiative.

This issue involves the USSR's decision to remove its naval fleet, including submarines, from the Pacific, even as it has proposed to the U.S. that both countries abandon their military bases in Southeast Asia.

The Americans, however, have been chary on this issue. A State Department spokesman declared that the U.S. cannot reduce its forces in the region because of their commitments to their allies. Meanwhile, American Defense Secretary Cheney avers that the United States needs to maintain its military might so that Americans may safeguard their interests around the world. Such views are regularly expounded by the Americans vis-a-vis the Asia-Pacific region, including the Southeast Asian countries.

However, there are mixed opinions on this matter. First, the Southeast Asian countries are in favor of the demilitarization of the region. And now the ASEAN nations—after having witnessed the part played by the United States in putting down the recent rebellion by Filipino soldiers—fear that the United States will go on playing an influential part in the internal affairs of that country.

What then can be inferred by all this? Of course, unstable democratic institutions clearly need to be protected. But does this mean that the powerful nations should use their military forces to provide protection to such countries? Do such actions not serve merely to divide the world into states which can be subverted?

The recent dramatic events in the Philippines involving the United States' military intervention demonstrate that a contradictory and (?destabilizing) process is going on. Those who engage in coercion are displaying a return to the old political mentality prevalent during times of confrontation and the cold war in the Asia-Pacific region.

As spelled out by Gorbachev after his talks with Bush, the old ways are slowly being shed, even though it is a difficult process. He described the current thinking in the postwar period, pointing out that reverting to cold war ways is a mistake. The new thinking has made way for changes in the world today, where military confrontation and the arms race are being abandoned before they succeed in destroying the world.

It is not easy to promote this new thinking in the Asia-Pacific region, but this does not mean there is no hope for its success. A document proposing that the Asia-Pacific region be made a nuclear-free zone of peace and freedom is being promoted. Another such move involves the Rarotonga Treaty, which proposes a nuclear-free status for the South Pacific.

In an effort to stabilize the situation in the region, the Soviet Union is making a valuable contribution. It lays stress on the importance of a program calling for a dialogue, like that process which took place in Helsinki. Moreover, the Soviet Union has acquiesced to proposals made to reduce its Armed Forces in Asia.

All this has changed the thinking of the unbelievers and the doubters, as far as the problems and security of the Asia-Pacific region are concerned. Furthermore, after the meeting between Gorbachev and Bush, new relations between North and South have been enhanced.

Will a new day dawn in Asia? The road to this is undoubtedly a thorny one. During the talks between the United States and the Soviet Union, some matters of contention remained—those dealing with Afghanistan and Cambodia. And the gap between the developing nations and the rich nations has still not been bridged. But changes are taking place, and this means that there is time for the Asia-Pacific region to enter a new century of liberty, free from colonialism and cold war thinking.

Deployment of U.S. Marines to Philippines Viewed

OW1812032189 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] General Stackpole of the U.S. Marine Corps [USMC] stationed in Okinawa, stated in his interview with the KYODO NEWS SERVICE that the USMC units were rapidly deployed to the Philippines during the recent aborted coup there. In this connection, Radio Moscow commentator Dmitriyev writes as follows:

Major General Stackpole did not disclose how many troops were dispatched to the Philippines. According to his remarks, the U.S. troops were assigned to guard the U.S. Embassy and the U.S. forces' facilities in Manila, but not to join the military action of suppressing the rebels. However, such an explanation is certainly unsatisfactory. Reportedly, the rebels had nearly 3,000 troops, but the U.S. forces stationed in the Philippines had 19,000 troops, much more than the rebels. Since there is such an apparent difference in the troop strength, is it truly necessary, from the military viewpoint, to take the trouble of deploying additional Marines from Okinawa to guard the U.S. Forces facilities? Or rather, it would be correct to say that the U.S. Forces' Command has used the incident in the Philippines as an excuse for reinforcing the troops who had become off guard because they had heard talk about the ending of the cold war and because they got used to the warm weather in Okinawa.

Incidentally, it is a fact known to all that the U.S. forces have not limited their activities in the Philippines to guard duties. For instance, the U.S. Air Force supported government troops from the air. The fact that the United States has assisted the suppression of the coup in such a way may lead to long-lasting political influence.

First of all, the United States will have a superior position in its negotiations with the Philippine Government on the extension of the use of Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base. Furthermore, the U.S. military presence itself may look to Asian public opinion as a guarantee, not only of regional security, but also for democracy.

If the deployment is considered from this viewpoint, it goes without saying that Maj Gen Stackpole's statement on the deployment of USMC units in Okinawa to the Philippines can be said to have served some propaganda purpose. This is also clear from the fact that Japanese public opinion is sympathetic to President Aquino.

In his interview with the KYODO NEWS SERVICE, Maj Gen Stackpole stated that, due to the changes taking place in the world, the U.S. troops stationed in Japan would not be reduced in the near future. This remark indicates that his statement on the deployment of USMC units in Okinawa to the Philippines was designed as propaganda.

With the development of the relaxation of tension, the fabricated story concerning the Soviet threat has become less and less warranted. At this juncture, it has become an urgent problem for the U.S. Government to seek a new excuse to justify the U.S. military presence in the Asian-Pacific region and in Japan as well.

Meanwhile, there still remain important related questions requiring substantial answers. One has direct connections with the incident in the Philippines. The question is: What role do the bases of the U.S. forces in foreign nations play in the political life of those nations? Another is of global significance. While the military presence in foreign nations is still maintained, is it fitting to talk about the ending of the cold war?

These questions have become most urgent in the Far East, where the Japanese Archipelago has now become the forefront in the confrontation between East and

West. Furthermore, if the relaxation of international tension is to develop, the international community, sooner or later, will have to give principled answers to these questions.

Trade Representative in Phnom Penh Interviewed

BK2812093589 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Report on interview with (Viktor Yemilianov), Soviet trade representative in Phnom Penh, by correspondent Aleksandr Sandrov; date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction—questions read by announcer, (Yemilianov's) answers recorded in Russian fading into Cambodian translation]

[Text] The Soviet Union and the State of Cambodia are now linked by close relations of trade, economic, and scientific and technical cooperation. What are the results of this cooperation? What are the targets of the development of economic and trade relations between our countries for the coming years? These questions were posed by our correspondent, Aleksandr Sandrov, to Comrade (Viktor Yemilianov), trade representative of the Soviet Union accredited to the State of Cambodia. This interview was made in conjunction with the approaching national day of Cambodia marking the victory of 7 January.

Question: What is your assessment of the results of the economic cooperation between our two countries since the day Cambodia was liberated from the gang of Pol Pot?

[(Yemilianov)] In all these years the Soviet Union has given Cambodia considerable economic aid in addition to unconditional assistance in virtually every field. If we take into consideration the year 1979—the so-called year of death left behind by the Pol Pot gang following its oppressive rule—the main outcome of our cooperation can be summed up in these words: Cambodia is now capable of solving its own problems.

Question: Would you please give details on the targets and the main achievements of our cooperation?

[(Yemilianov)] The aid granted by the Soviet Union is destined for all vitally important domains of the national economy and social life of the State of Cambodia. For example, a ground satellite station, a new printing house, and a water processing plant for Phnom Penh city were opened not long ago.

Soviet Trade Representative Comrade (Viktor Yemilianov) went on to say: Several other ventures resulting from the Soviet-Cambodian cooperation are currently being operated without interruption by Soviet specialists. Not only the planes of the Cambodian Civil Aviation, but those of the airlines of Vietnam, Laos, and the Soviet Union and chartered planes from other countries are landing at the international airport of Pochentong every day. Workers are busy loading and off-loading goods without even 1 minute of delay at the Kompong Som seaport and the Phnom Penh riverport. It is through these two ports that the bulk of Cambodia's merchandise has been sailing both to and from the country.

Within the realm of cooperation between the two countries, there are also a few other buildings whose construction is nearing completion, such as the first circus house in Cambodia.

Question: What are the prospects for and main objectives of our cooperation in the future?

[(Yemilianov)] We consider the existing prospects to be most fruitful. We are preparing a plan of cooperation for the coming 5 years. The planning organizations of our two countries have met and already held several rounds of consultation to draw up the main targets for expansion of the mutually beneficial cooperation.

Let me stress that this certainly is a cooperation that would bring mutual benefits to the two countries, Comrade (Viktor Yemilianov) said. Henceforth the two sides will accord this cooperation priority when they work out urgent tasks for trade and economic cooperation. Such an approach to the problem was adopted at the latest meeting of the intergovernmental committees for trade, economic, and scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries. That meeting was attended, on the Cambodian side, by Comrade Deputy Prime Minister Chea Soth.

The agreement on the establishment of joint ventures in some promising sectors, such as the exploitation of precious wood and the processing of natural rubber, could be considered extraordinarily important. Also bearing special significance were the measures being taken by the Cambodian side regarding the increase in the volume of exports to the Soviet Union.

Question: A protocol on goods exchanges and payments between the Soviet Union and the State of Cambodia for 1990 was signed at a recent ceremony in Moscow. This protocol is believed to be a draft document for our trade relations. Would you please make some comments on it?

[(Yemilianov)] Generally, protocols visualize a regular growth in transactions. In response to our repeated requests, the Cambodian comrades found possibilities to increase the export of natural rubber, precious wood, and some other farm products to the Soviet Union. For its part the Soviet Union will continue to send in large quantities of petroleum products, iron sheets, different mechanical appliances, and various raw materials necessary for Cambodia's economic development. The gross volume of our bilateral trade is worth more than 100 million rubles. In my opinion, this will continue to grow.

Sub-Saharan Africa

CPSU Delegate Greets ZANU-PF Congress

PM2712151589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Harare, 20 Dec—The National People's Congress of the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), which is being held here, was today greeted by the representatives of a number of friendly parties invited to the forum. ZANU-PF's choice in favor of building a socialist society, N.I. Malkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Chita Oblast CPSU Committee, who is heading the CPSU delegation, said in his speech, has been greeted with understanding by the Soviet people. Your party can count on their support.

After noting that lasting peace and stability in southern Africa are impossible without removing apartheid, the head of the CPSU delegation assured the forum's participants that the Soviet Union will continue to develop friendly relations with the African National Congress [ANC] and with all democratic forces in South Africa.

Greeting the congress delegates, ANC Secretary General Alfred Nzo stressed that the events taking place in South Africa are evidence of the successful struggle of progressive forces in the countries of the region.

Delegation Departs Zimbabwe

90UI0241A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[Text] Harare, 24 November (TASS)—A CPSU delegation headed by N.I. Malkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Chita Obkom [oblast party committee], which was here at the invitation of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front [ZANU-PF], left today for home. It had taken part in the ZANU-PF National People's Congress.

CPSU Group Signs Cooperation Plan in Mali

PM2712152589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Bamako, 20 Dec—The CPSU delegation headed by Ye.M. Zolotarev, first secretary of Aktyubinsk Kazakh Communist Party Oblast Committee, which is here at the invitation of the leadership of the Mali People's Democratic Union [UDPM], has met with Sekou Minandiou Traore, UDPM Central Executive Bureau secretary for foreign ties. The delegation has also been received by Djibril Diallo, Central Executive Bureau political secretary, and Mbuy Sibi [name as transliterated], Central Executive Bureau secretary for administrative questions.

During the conversations, there was an in-depth exchange of opinions on prospects for developing relations between the CPSU and the UDPM. The members of the UDPM Central Executive Bureau favored the strengthening of ties between the CPSU and the UDPM, first and foremost in the sphere of training party cadres and exchanging information. A plan for interparty cooperation for 1990-1991 was signed within the framework of the delegation's visit.

Commentary Examines Frelimo-Renamo Talks

EA2312222389 Moscow International Service in Amharic
1530 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] AFP has reported that due to improved East-West relations in 1989, tangible steps have been taken to resolve several conflicts in Africa. We present a commentary by (Igor Patovskiy):

The solution to the Namibian problems can be taken as an example, but opposition forces in Mozambique are holding talks from a different position. The Mozambique opposition group, Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo], is asking for acceptance and acknowledgement as a political organization and to share power with the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo]. The Mozambican Government has become difficult by refusing to accept the request, calling it an illegal issue.

It will be recalled that peace talks have been held between Renamo and Frelimo in Nairobi, but no tangible results were achieved. President Chissano has also said that he will not talk with Renamo. However, he has told the five Lusophone nations that he is willing to talk to Renamo provided it acknowledges the authority of the government officially. Can this step save the peace talks ftom failure?

Frelimo has disclosed that it has dropped its earlier Marxist ideology which it regarded as a political solution to the problem. It was expected that the United States would halt its arms supplies to Renamo. Although the assistance has been decreased, it has not yet completely ceased. When the South African president visited Mozambique recently, he said that inasmuch as Renamo was being supplied with arms by the United States, the Pretoria government could not control them. It is very difficult to believe this statement. The policy the United States and South Africa are currently pursuing in Mozambique seems to indicate that there is no need for either peace or war.

RSA President's 'First 100 Days' Viewed

MB2712100289 Moscow in English to Southern Africa
1900 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Vladimir Valentinov commentary on RSA President Frederik de Klerk's first 100 days in office—read by announcer]

[Text] The occasion is no red letter day and commentary is not mandatory. But, seeing that it comes at the end of the year, it does provide an excuse for a stocktaking of recent political developments and, perhaps, some forecasting.

We should pay credit to the new South African president in that, unlike his predecessor, Pieter Botha, he has managed to plant in the minds and hearts of his fellow countrymen and the world community a degree of hope in the democratic future of the country.

A brief analysis of the 100-day Presidency, moreover, does give even skeptics an optimistic view of the possibility of such hopes.

It was during the election campaign, when Mr de Klerk was confidently moving to power, that he produced his 5-year program for building a new South Africa. Though attitudes to the program may differ, though we can soberly and deeply analyze all the pros and cons, we cannot but admit that the effect it produces is striking.

Recall that South Africans are tired of believing in words and promises. They expected action from the president, who repeatedly vowed his commitment to democratic reforms in South Africa.

Mr de Klerk began to back up his statements with action. He met three clerical figures and broached the subject of negotiations with the opposition, including the African National Congress [ANC]. He permitted a meeting in Soweto in support of Nelson Mandela, a move that was evaluated as the first step towards lifting the ban on the ANC in South Africa. He released Walter Sisulu and seven other political prisoners, a move that speaks for itself. Finally, he recently met Nelson Mandela, giving rise to hope for his early release.

I have no intention of singing the praises of the incumbent president of South Africa, Frederik de Klerk, the more so that, along with positive and, hence, unexpected actions for the leader of an apartheid regime, we observe certain negative ones.

The emergency is still on and so is the terror and reprisals against all dissidents. Factory owners still use the army and police to crack down on strikers, as is now happening in the transport industry. On the whole, the apartheid system is functioning, and we can say that the 100 days of the Presidency of Frederik de Klerk has given rise to hope and, at the same time, posed certain questions: Will the hopes come true? Can the opposition count wholly on the president's goodwill and should it forego the national liberation struggle?

Mr de Klerk attempted to provide an answer to the first question in his Christmas message. Among other things, he urged all South Africans to devote themselves to the cause of building a new South Africa within the next 10 years so that the country would enter upon the new century in the ranks of the prosperous nations of the world.

The time limits are too protracted, and it is doubtful that they would satisfy an oppressed people. True, we cannot but agree with Mr de Klerk in that it is desirable that all this be achieved through frank and honest dialogue and negotiations with due consideration for the viewpoints of all the negotiating sides.

Whatever the case might be, however, one of those viewpoints had better be given preference: the viewpoint of democratic South Africa.

It is very simple and boils down to the following: Elimination of apartheid now, without putting anything off, as President de Klerk urges.

Commentary Wishes South Africa 'Better Future'

MB2612110389 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Aleksandr Fedorov commentary from "South Africa Today" program—read by announcer]

[Text] I don't how it stands now, but last year, of the many programs on South African radio, the country's listeners preferred the one entitled "Think About It," no doubt because hopes were raised in it for a better future, that at some time the Christian commandments Thou Shalt Not Kill, Neither Shall You Bear False Witness Against Your Neighbor, and others will become more than wishful thinking in the Republic of South Africa.

The rest of the world would like to believe that the South Africans who are dedicated to justice, who are brought up on the uniquely virtuous works of Olivia Schreiner and the humane works of the modern white writers Andre Brink, Nadine Gordimer, prefer the Sermon on the Mount to the teachings of the fathers of apartheid.

Think about it. Call them the preachers in many ways to think about how, in our civilized century, they do not remain the most outcast of nations in world; to not only think about it but to act, taking part together with the Africans in the mourning processions, carrying out the pre-Christmas campaign in the struggle against apartheid, having talks beyond the Republic's borders with the representatives of the African National Congress. These little actions have brought their positive results.

I doubt very much that, without the mass movement, the program of the National Party would have appeared with the promises of revolutionary changes. The positive steps of the government have hardly become a reality with the small changes to apartheid in the cities, the meetings of the country's leaders with those who were not so long ago called terrorists, and for quoting them there was the threat of imprisonment.

Although Christmas in South Africa has not become the holiday uniting all the best of (?sorts) of all living in the country and is still a separate holiday for the whites and the Africans, this holiday will be celebrated in a different atmosphere. This year, many families will be able to gather together, for example, the South African soldiers who have returned from the Namibian front.

The overall situation in the country gives rise to the belief that they will not be on the alert to be sent to a neighboring country. It's true there are thousands of soldiers on patrol duty in African outlying areas, but there, judging by all reports, the disturbances have diminished.

The armed struggle will continue to decrease further if the Africans can believe that the Nationalists are not only talking slogans about revolutionary changes. It will help to lessen the tension if the government is not going to do what it did last year and build expensive hospitals for whites only, to keep at the present level the wages of the Africans, (?but are) getting ready to share the finances to train African children with (?books). They have not absorbed the racist theories of (?Sherwood).

Each person understands that the (?blooms) of issues are not so easily turned into reality, that it demands time.

But, there are problems the government could make an effort to solve now, in the days when the whites shall celebrate their Christmas holidays in the family circles, when above them shall gather the atmosphere of forgiveness. It is the Christian (?debt) to remember about the hundreds of political prisoners, to remember those who, in false witness, are awaiting punishment.

Their guilt lies in that they took a little too close to their hearts the 10 Commandments and fought for them to reign in their own country. Which court can define the guilt of those who today are not ceasing to strike, to take part in protest marches, to bring the country to supreme justice, and to have the right to feel a citizen in their own country?

These are, perhaps, not the most optimistic of ideas that have come to me on the eve of the celebration of the birth of Christ.

However, I wish you a happy holiday with the hope of a better future for your country.

East Europe

Romanians Note Gorbachev-Iliescu Phone Talk

LD2812184289 Moscow TASS in English 1826 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest December 28 TASS—Actually no shots are heard in the city now. Romanian Radio constantly broadcasts report of the Council of the National Salvation Front, saying that persons who have not surrendered arms and ammunition by five p.m. local time on Thursday are to be tried by military tribunals and immediately executed.

But many people doubt that terrorists will surrender arms. A TASS correspondent who visited a military unit authorised to accept arms got convinced that not a single unit has been surrendered by midday.

The Council of the National Salvation Front today issued a call to the population to remain calm and not to try to lynch officials of the previous regime and Communists. People are urged to strengthen unity necessary for the further development of the Romanian revolution.

People in Bucharest show a lively interest in the current Romanian press. Perusing newspapers, people wish to receive information about newly appointed leaders and new steps of the government. People in Bucharest widely commented on today's report about a telephone conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ion Iliescu.

A group of students was discussing this information. They told TASS that despite difficulties of the initial stage of the revolution and the issuing of various extremist slogans, Romania's vital interests are met by the establishment of close and sound relations with the Soviet Union.

One of the students said: "Over many years Ceausescu told us untruth about the Soviet Union. Now we wish to be truthfully informed about how Soviet people live, about how perestroyka progresses in the Soviet Union."

Numerous foreign journalists who arrived to cover events in Romania are discussing yesterday's televised appearance of Iliescu.

Iliescu emphasised that the Romanian revolution was born of a spontaneous movement of the people who rose against the Ceausescu clan.

Contrary to what was asserted by the former dictator at the trial, it was not a state coup implemented with outside support.

"We are not burdened by any dogmas and prejudices, therefore we can make any decisions to which life prompts us. We shall be pursuing a policy based on reality," Iliescu said.

The very first steps of the new power were aimed at the improvement of the population's daily living. After the abrogation of the resolution of the Grand National Assembly on "scientifically-based diet", adopted at Ceausescu's bid, one could see how people in food stores were buying food products which had not been on sale earlier.

Romanian Radio and Television continue to broadcast reports about the new Romanian leadership's recognition by governments of numerous countries, about humanitarian assistance by various countries.

Soviet Policy Toward Romania Viewed

LD2612232789 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov]

[Text] A commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov on the Soviet attitude to the events in Romania.

Moscow welcomed the popular upheaval in Romania which led to the toppling of the Ceausescu dictatorship. In connection with the developments in our neighboring country, the Soviet Union displayed a new well-weighed approach and new political thinking.

The Congress of People's Deputies, which was in session in the Kremlin, sent a message to the Romanian people expressing strong support for their just cause. President Mikhail Gorbachev said medical aid had been rushed to Romania for those injured in the clashes.

At the height of the fighting in Bucharest the need emerged for coordinating the approaches of the Warsaw Treaty countries, but there was nothing reminiscent of the so-called Brezhnev doctrine, that is a policy allowing armed interference in the affairs of other countries, though some Western capitals actually called for it.

Obviously, with the best of intentions wanting to see Romania free of the Ceausescu dictatorship, French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas told Soviet officials last week if the Soviet Union thought it necessary to intervene in Romania, France not only would not object to it but would support this action. Secretary of State James Baker said on Sunday that President Bush would not object if the Soviets or other Warsaw Treaty nations used their armed forces to assist the revolution in Romania.

Nevertheless, Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov told newsmen in the Kremlin on Saturday that it would be impermissible for us to bring in forces: We must not repeat mistakes, he stressed.

As a matter of fact, earlier this month at its second session in Moscow the Congress of People's Deputies condemned the dispatch of Soviet troops to Czechoslovakia in 1968 when the Prague Spring reforms were attempted there. And at its concluding sitting on Sunday, the congress qualified the deployment of Soviet troops in Afghanistan 10 years ago as a violation of the Soviet Constitution and abuse of international norms of behavior.

It was quite logical for the highest body of state power to issue these resolutions, since noninterference in the affairs of other countries is a firm principle of the Soviet policy based on new thinking.

Recently, Secretary of State James Baker said that both the United States and the Soviet Union today are supporting democracy. The difference is that the Soviet Union supports democracy by staying out of countries and thus permitting democracy to proceed, he added. The United States did it by going in, by doing the opposite in Panama by intervening. In the meantime, this difference is essential. We think that true democracy is achieved by the people and not brought in on foreign bayonets. For each nation freedom and democracy are as dear as is the guarantee against outside interference.

Commentary on Stalinism, Fall of Ceausescu

LD2612231689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1805 GMT 26 Dec 89

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Boris Andrianov; commentary by Viktor Levin]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Andrianov] What preliminary conclusions can be made from the events in Romania? I hand the microphone to my colleague Viktor Levin.

[Levin] The first and most important conclusion is the confirmation of the Marxist view that it is the people who are the creators of history. However much Ceausescu and his clique may have frightened, terrorized, or oppressed the Romanian people, they drew themselves up to their height, threw back their shoulders, and cast the tyrant off.

The uprising in Timisoara was a spark from which the fire of the liberating revolution enveloped the whole country. But Ceausescu's henchmen tried to douse this spark in a sea of blood. In the first days reports were coming in that the number of inhabitants who had been killed amounted to 3,000 people. Now even more fearful figures are being given. The dictator's secret police vented their anger on the people of Timisoara even after the dictator's overthrow was announced in Bucharest.

I must admit that even today I cannot understand why, 3 days after the uprising in Timisoara, Moscow had not received information about the bloody carnage. A wave of indignation and protest was already sweeping over the whole world, but the Congress of People's Deputies was only able to add its voice 24 hours later. It seems to me that we all, and the world too, must be given an exhaustive explanation. We feel solidarity with the Romanian people in their uprising, solidarity with their just struggle against tyranny. The congress of People's Deputies expressed our shared feelings on 22 December, but I am left with the feeling that our just reaction should have been expressed somewhat earlier.

The hour of truth struck, and the person who called himself general secretary of the Communist Party of Romania and the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania was called a dictator, a tyrant. But he was a dictator and a tyrant 2 weeks ago, and in the last 10 days when, in his attempts to hold onto power, Ceausescu gave the order to fire at the people and to kill, kill, kill, he changed the number of his crimes, but not their nature. The Romanian people had been fired on before. You need only recall Brasov, December 1987. The fact that Ceausescu and his wife Elena embarked down the path of monstrous crimes against their own people was influenced by their personal qualities, in my opinion. History is familiar with bloody autocrats and with autocrats who have had a more or less tolerable attitude to their people. But this did not change the essence of their power, and this is where the root of the evil lies. And if we ask—and you can't avoid it—what it was that made it possible for all the repulsive qualities of the Ceausescu people to flourish, the answer lies, in my opinion, in their boundless despotism, which arose from the Stalinist system.

I recently returned from Berlin, where I observed the work of the extraordinary congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism. Here, too, they spoke of Stalinism and the evil it did to the people of the GDR. And although that evil is not comparable with what Ceausescu did, it is essential to put an end to Stalinism, and to do so decisively, say our German friends, once and for all. It is essential to do this in order to cleanse the banner of communist ideals, to give back their essence to these ideals, and to see that not all those who call themselves communists really are communists in fact. After all, even today one can hear opinions in the socialist countries where preference is given not to the essence but to symbols, even in cases where distorted conceptions are not hidden.

The overthrown Romanian dictator embodied the whole complex of the organic sins of Stalinism: the trampling of democracy, the merciless violence against the people, the bribery. How much one would like to place a full stop after saying that his shameful end is the natural lot of tyrants in the 20th century. But as soon as you recall that Ceausescu hid himself under the title of communist, thoughts arise that move that full stop further away. It is still too early to write it.

Diplomat Evacuated From Romania Interviewed

LD2612233989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Dec 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondent A. Barkhatov]

[Excerpt] [Barkhatov] A train has just crossed the border on which staff from the Soviet Embassy who have been evacuated with their families have returned to their homeland. Here are a few interviews right here on the platform. [video shows train and then Barkhatov speaking with a man] Vladimir Ivanovich, please tell us how you managed to get here.

[V.I. Medvedenko, vice consul of the USSR Embassy in Romania] Relatively successfully. We were delayed. In the area around Buzau there was fighting and the electricity grid had been damaged. We were forced to go back some way into the Ploiesti area and then take a detour on a steam train.

[Barkhatov] That means that no one was hurt?

[Medvedenko] No, no one. There was an attempt to send all the families off on Saturday [23 December], but at the station there were special subunits of the troops loyal to Ceausescu [fighting] with the people's army. We were forced to delay our departure for 24 hours.

[Barkhatov] Please tell us about the fate of Soviet tourists. Do you know anything about what is happening to them?

[Medvedenko] I don't know about the tourists because I have told you everything that I knew about as of Sunday evening. Two of our Soviet specialists have been wounded, but they are, so to speak, all right. One will be out of the hospital in a week. The second one is also in a good state, only he is not in the hospital. There was allegedly information that several vehicles were fired upon by the so-called terrorists. But I cannot tell you anything specific, because I do not believe those rumors that are reaching us and I do not wish to speak about that.

[Barkhatov] Please tell me as well about Soviet people who were injured, in what circumstances and how.

[Medvedenko] The apartments in which the majority of the specialists from the trade representation reside were situated not far from the television station, and fighting was going on for 3 days to gain possession of the television station. And it turned out that it is one of the tallest buildings in this area and the upper floors were damaged during the fighting. People ran down to the basement to save themselves. We evacuated them, collected them from there, and there were some people who were injured.

[Barkhatov] Were any children hurt?

[Medvedenko] No, none were hurt. Everything is all right.

[Barkhatov] Thank you. Have a good journey. [passage omitted] [video shows Soviet people looking out of train window, and a woman and child in a train compartment]

Lack of Early Information on Romania Unrest Noted

PM2912151589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Dec 89 p 3

[Editorial "Announcement"]

[Text] Why was the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet unable to brief the Congress of People's Deputies on the situation in Romania? Did the diplomats in our embassy have any idea how the situation in the country would develop? What, in the prevailing situation, is the role of Ye. Tyazhelnikov, USSR ambassador to Romania? How, in general, is the work of the Soviet Embassy in Romania to be assessed?

Readers are asking these questions every day. We have contacted the USSR Foreign Ministry and have been promised that these questions will be answered in the next few days. An interview with leading officials of the Foreign Ministry will be published in the first issues of 1990.

Kishinev Radio Editor Views Romanian Revolution

TA2912171789 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1700 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] The revolution in Romania has deeply affected the inhabitants of Moldavia, the USSR republic that borders Romania. In the first interview of its kind with the Voice of Israel, the editor of the Romanian service of Kishinev Radio said that many support rallies and special prayers were held in Moldavia for democracy in Romania.

Our correspondent Gad Ben-Yitzhaq reports that the editor, (Anatol Radu), pointed out that Moldavia hopes to foster closer ties with Romania, particularly cultural ties. He also mentioned the possibility of opening the Moldavian-Romanian border, as was the case between the two Germanys, and showed great interest in the Israeli reaction to the Romanian revolution.

Vaclav Havel Elected New CSSR President

LD2912112289 Moscow TASS in English 1053 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Prague December 29 TASS—Vaclav Havel was elected the president of Czechoslovakia at a session of the republic's Federal Assembly today.

Havel Election Previewed

PM2812165189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent L. Kornilov dispatch: "Upcoming Presidential Election"]

[Text] Prague—The Czechoslovak parliament is on the eve of the presidential election. A joint session of the chambers will open 28 December at 1500 hours Moscow time. Television will carry live reportage.

J. Bartoncik, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly, announced that at least two legislative issues have to be resolved prior to the presidential election. First, byelections for deputies to fill 24 vacant posts. One of these, incidentally, will be taken up by A. Dubcek, who has not been a deputy up to now for obvious reasons. Dubcek has to have a seat as an essential constitutional precondition of his election as chairman of the Federal Assembly.

Allow me to remind you that V. Havel, the presidential candidate, had specifically stipulated beforehand that A. Dubcek must be at his side. Subsequently, representatives of various political forces came to a "roundtable" agreement to seek the election of the leader of the "Prague Spring" to the post of chairman of the parliament.

The second question is the new edition of the presidential oath. It is proposed to remove from it the formula about loyalty "to the cause of socialism," and to reinstate a passage about the place and role of the republic's peoples and ethnic groups. Thus the Czechoslovak president will be elected "by a full Federal Assembly," to use J. Bartoncik's words. We will know the result tomorrow.

The Czechoslovak mass media publish a letter to Alexander Dubcek from the European Parliament informing him that he has been awarded the 1989 A. Sakharov Prize. This international prize has been instituted for outstanding human rights champions.

The parliamentary commission investigating the 17 November events in Prague is continuing its work. On 27 December it heard Ladislav Adamec. According to the commission members, the former premier submitted information which corroborates the conclusion that the entire political responsibility for the drama that took place rests with M. Jakes and M. Stepan.

After an absence of more than 40 years, Pavel Tigrid, publisher of the journal SVEDECTVI, has arrived in Prague from Paris. Until quite recently both he and his journal were treated in Czechoslovakia with the most scornful epithets on the lines of "reactionary emigre rabble." Tigrid has arrived in Prague at V. Havel's invitation to attend the presidential election ceremony.

Dubcek Elected CSSR Assembly Chairman

LD2812200989 Moscow TASS in English 1955 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Prague December 28 TASS—A joint session of both chambers of the Federal Assembly opened in Prague today to consider three constitutional bills. New deputies will be elected to the country's supreme legislature to replace people stripped of their mandates. Ten deputies will be elected to the Nationalities Chamber and 14 to the People's Chamber.

Chairman of the Federal Assembly Kukral announced his resignation from the post.

Alexander Dubcek was elected chairman of the Federal Assembly.

The session decided by a majority vote to amend the text of the presidential oath. The new president will be required to swear allegiance, in honour and conscience, to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The phrase about allegiance to the cause of socialism has been deleted.

The election of the president of the Czechoslovak Republic will be held on Friday.

CSSR Political Scene, CPCZ 'Crisis' Viewed

PM2812124889 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[Special correspondent A. Krushinskiy report: "Prague: A Hot December"]

[Excerpts] Prague, Moscow, December—[passage omitted] Among Communists, disorder and confusion have prevailed recently. It turns out, for instance, that in less than a month more than 60,000 people have handed in their party cards to make a point. Although members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] are widely represented in the government, in some localities there have been injustices: Sometimes a Communist's house has a window broken, sometimes they are unfairly dismissed from work. To be fair, however, we should point out that such instances have been condemned at student rallies, and the newspaper LIDOVE NOVINY, which is headed by J. Dienstbier, has just come out against recurrences of anticommunism.

"How did it come about that for a mass party with 1.7 million members, such painful damage was inflicted by a nonviolent student movement?" I asked a Prague acquaintance, a longstanding CPCZ member.

"It is not a question of the students," he protested. "The crisis was brewing long before 17 November. We were lagging behind the perestroyka processes that the CPSU began, and were left behind by events..."

The analysis of the cause of the profound crisis affecting the party and the quest for ways toward effective perestroyka in the party were the main content of the extraordinary CPCZ congress just held in Prague. It was stormy, with lively debates—that is, entirely in the spirit of the atmosphere of this "hot December," and that inspires hope that the most difficult time for the Czechoslovak Communist Party is over. [passage omitted]

The situation in Czechoslovakia today is similar in many respects to 1947: The prime minister is a member of the Communist Party, but according to an agreement at a "roundtable" of the main political forces, a nonparty person is to be elected president. The elections are to take place in the Federal Assembly on 29 December.

But what the correlation of political forces is at present is unclear. The general elections planned for next year will tell us. "I am convinced that with democratic management, in the conditions of broad civil rights, a party of socialist orientation has quite a good chance in competition between various political currents and individuals," Ladislav Adamec said in his concluding address at the extraordinary CPCZ congress. This optimism on the part of the party chairman is, I think, justified.

The ebb in sympathies toward the CPCZ was associated primarily with the instances of corruption uncovered in its highest echelons, retrograde intolerance of pluralism of opinions and views, an antiperestroyka spirit, and, finally, the fact that the CPCZ's work methods were associated with bureaucracy. Purging itself of all this, the party is entering a struggle to regain its prestige in a society which remains committed to the socialist way of life. (Only 3 percent of participants in a recent public opinion poll came out in favor of a return to the capitalist system).

And regardless of the results of the coming elections, it will be extremely important, in my view, to maintain and deepen equal, polite dialogue between political forces and joint efforts on their part to stabilize society.

...All the same, how can you have Christmas, how can you have the New Year holiday without superstition? On my return to my hotel, sitting by (as Capek called it) the late "evening" lamp, I took another look at the magazine CO VAS ZAJIMA that I bought that morning. And here is what I read under the rubric "Horoscope": Capricorn (22 December-20 January) is characterized by the principle "man's life is his work," and those born under this sign often become "titans of labor." This heavenly constellation is characterized by seriousness, decency, constancy. So let us hope that political pluralism and the partnership of political forces now being formed in the republic will promote the cause of stability in the country and the world, the interests of building the common European home, and the further improvement of the life of the industrious Czechoslovak people.

CSSR's Calfa Seeks to Overcome 'Distrust'

90UI0255A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 51, 20 Dec 89 p 9

[Interview with CSSR Premier Marian Calfa, by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA special correspondents Irina Gavrilova and Sergey Merinov: "Communists and the Government"; date, place of interview not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] **Marian Calfa was born in 1946 in Eastern Slovakia in the city of Trebisov. He is a Slovak and a lawyer. He has been working on the staff of the government for 17 years, and he moved from a junior adviser to supervisor of the department of legislation. Since 21 April 1988 he has been a minister without portfolio. On 3 December 1989 he was appointed first deputy premier of the government, and on 10 December he was appointed premier of the CSSR [Czechoslovak Soviet Socialist Republic].**

M. Calfa received us in his office late in the evening of 11 December.

[Calfa] I am optimistic because of the fact that we were able to get over a government crisis. The government that is established today is the only firm element in our state mechanism. We do not now have a president, parliament is experiencing difficulties, and some deputies are relinquishing their authority. Some time will pass before the election of a new government. Earlier the government relied on the CPCZ [Czechoslovakian Communist Party], and now this support is not there. The Communist Party is treated equally with four other parties that are active in the CSSR.

Immediately after the government was formed and sworn in we said that in our work we would honor all international agreements on human rights in all spheres.

The government will function up until the election. Apparently, a half year will be required to prepare new legislation on elections. There is a general desire to accelerate this work. The elections will give a clear picture, and they will show the arrangement of political forces. Now everything is shaky and no one has confidence. A new coalition government will be formed according to the results of the elections.

There will be a meeting of the federal assembly this month, for which the government will prepare a program announcement concerning economic reform.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] How did you find your first workday?

[Calfa] Organizational questions were resolved with members of the government. We must make arrangements for its former members who are now leaving and vacating positions for new members. There are a lot of prominent specialists among them, and it is not their fault that they have to leave. The new members of the government have a different approach to problems, and, therefore, the former staff is leaving in its entirety, as a block.

With my two deputies I was deciding the complicated question on the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In our country this ministry handles questions of state security. The militia is within the competence of appropriate ministries of the republic. We have the task of moving the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] into "peacetime," that is, to remove from its jurisdiction questions with which it should no longer be involved. The problem is complicated, but in the end we were able to come to an understanding. We appointed an official of my staff, who is not a member of the Communist Party, who is fully empowered by the government for oversight of the activity of the MVD. I will end my meeting with them today.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] What main obstacles face the government?

[Calfa] It is society's great distrust of the actions of the government that we have inherited. We can overcome this distrust only with our own work. Words must be backed up by deeds.

While the theaters have already stopped their strike today, the students continue to strike. The students are now a great social force, and we must cope with them, conduct negotiations, and speak completely frankly and sincerely. The approach to them and their demands must be tactful. The promise of success lies in this.

Productive and executive discipline have fallen sharply. Today the minister of foreign trade reported. As many products were exported in the last 5 days as were previously exported in 1 day. I think that if you take the data on the industrial sector, you will get about the same kind of picture. We need swift and decisive measures here.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] You said at your press conference yesterday that you will operate on a nonparty basis. How should the positions of the different political forces represented in the government be coordinated?

[Calfa] I would not want the members of the government to conduct themselves as representatives of different political forces. Capable people have entered the government, knowledgeable specialists, and an organization of competent professionals has been set up. We should operate first of all as professionals who are jointly seeking adequate solutions to each specific situation.

I am a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. But, first and foremost, I am the head of a coalition government, and the main thing for me is not membership in a party, but the coordinated actions of the Cabinet. And if at some point it will not be possible to reach a consensus without retreating, then I shall retreat. If the coordinated decisions of the government contradict or conflict with some one or other directive of the party and its structures, I will defend the position of the government.

When at the end of November—being responsible at that time in the government for legislative questions—I proposed to remove Article 4 from the Constitution about the leading role of the party, I received phone calls from certain highly placed persons who said I had "sold out the party." It is possible that some members of the party will criticize and even swear at me for my action in the government. I am ready for this.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] Give us a few words about yourself, and about your family.

[Calfa] The wife (she is also a lawyer) and I have two daughters—12 and 18 years of age. The older one is a student, and she is also striking now, just like everyone. I like to play tennis. I like to watch movies—I prefer comedies—and I like films of the type "And the Dawns Are Quiet Here." And I like to read. I like to work with wood, to plane it and saw it... But I have neither the time nor the strength for all of this, I must admit, and not the right frame of mind. We have a typical 3-room apartment, and a small house outside the city.

Anti-Soviet Vandalism Closes E. Berlin Park

LD2812202589 Moscow TASS in English 2005 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin December 28 TASS—For the first time in history the Berlin Treptower Park was closed today. The reason for this was an act of vandalism perpetrated on the previous night by a group of unidentified hooligans. Using aerosol sprays they covered the pedestal of the monument to the Soviet liberator and the tombs of 5,000 soldiers and officers, who fell during the storming of Berlin in 1945 with anti-Soviet slogans.

The criminal police of the German Democratic Republic are looking for the criminals. "Is discontent in our society ready to smear all?" the BZ AM ABEND [BERLINER ZEITUNG Evening Edition] newspaper asks in this connection. "Anyone who knows history can feel nothing but shame at this time," the newspaper stressed.

Government representative Wolfgang Meyer condemned most resolutely the anti-Soviet, nationalistic action of desecration. The criminals exposed themselves as dangerous right-wing extremists by their act of vandalism.

This crime can evoke only indignation and repulsion in our country of democratic renewal, the government representative stressed. But vandalism is unable to overshadow friendship and unity between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic on the basis of democratic socialism.

The government is at one with citizens in stating that everything should be done to rebuff rightist extremists and the neo-Nazi danger in the German Democratic Republic.

GDR Expresses 'Regret,' 'Concern'

LD2912165489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1505 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin, 29 Dec (TASS)—The GDR has expressed regret and concern to the Soviet Union about the defilement of the monument to the Soviet warrior-liberator in Berlin's Treptow Park.

As is known, on Wednesday night unknown criminals painted anti-Soviet slogans on this monument.

On behalf of the government, Herbert Krolikowski, GDR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, today met V.I. Kochemasov, the USSR ambassador to the GDR. He expressed the government's regret and concern about this stunt and apologized to Soviet citizens.

H. Krolikowski is convinced that all democratically minded people in the GDR profoundly condemn this outrageous act of vandalism.

The deputy minister confirmed that the consolidation and deepening of friendly relations and alliance with the USSR will continue to remain a priority task in the GDR's policies, as was stressed in the governmental declaration of 17 November. It will preserve the memory of Soviet people who gave their lives in the struggle for liberating the German people from Nazi tyranny, and also of all those who fought against fascism and war.

GDR Roundtable Holds Fourth Session

LD2712234589 Moscow TASS in English 2235 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin December 28 TASS—An analysis of the conflicting situation opened the fourth roundtable session here of representatives of 16 influential parties, political groups and public organizations of the German Democratic Republic.

The chairman of the recently established party "Democratic Breakthrough" lawyer Wolfgang Schnur had to announce that he would temporarily resign from the roundtable discussions. A number of publications appeared in the central press of the German Democratic Republic charging Schnur with corruption, abuse of office and financial machinations connected with housing exchanges. Schnur rejected the allegations and in turn charged the press with the prejudicial and unfair approach.

The discussion of the main items on the agenda was held in a tense atmosphere. Opposition representatives were critical of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic, rebuking the Hans Modrow government for not revealing to the public the entire seriousness of the economic, ecological and social situation.

However, most of the roundtable participants spoke in favour of strengthening relations of trust with the government in order to prevent further destabilisation of the internal political situation.

It was decided that representatives of the Council of Ministers and the heads of the industries under discussion will take part in the following sessions.

The roundtable session adopted a statement about the threat of neofascism in the German Democratic Republic and considered matters relating to the preparation of the general election scheduled for May 6, 1990. It was decided to use the [words indistinct] committee to enhance health services and solve environmental issues. The session discussed some other urgent issues.

Attitudes in GDR to Reunification Examined

PM2912095989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Dec 89 Second Edition p 3

[NOVOSTI and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA own correspondent Yu. Chervakov dispatch under the general heading "The FRG and the GDR: Problems of Coexistence"]

[Excerpt] Berlin—[Passage omitted] Behind the outward calm in GDR social life, you can sense serious tension, which has been particularly exacerbated in recent weeks. A serious demarcation of forces is in process in the republic on the basis of their attitudes to the idea of the reunification of the two German states.

Clearly, many of those who favor reunification mainly associate this with an almost instantaneous improvement in living standards. However, at the extraordinary congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]—which has now become the SED-Party of Democratic Socialism—many delegates remarked with alarm that calls for unification are often accompanied by the openly chauvinist slogan "Germans, awake!" borrowed from the National Socialists of the thirties. The SED-Party of Democratic Socialism and other parties participating in the Modrow government are faced with an extremely important task: to draw up an effective program for social renewal that will gain the support of the majority of the GDR population. Otherwise, in the opinion of many, there is a danger that the nationalist movement for reunification will gain the upper hand. It is being admitted that the GDR could produce its own "Republikaner" analogous to those in the FRG. It was recently reported that large consignments of propaganda literature are being sent by West German republicans to their like-minded fellows in the east.

Despite substantial differences in their political programs, all of the GDR's political parties are, as a whole, in favor of preserving the republic as an independent state. Awareness that a danger from the right could really arise creates an additional basis for effective collaboration between these political forces on antifascist principles. Manfred Gerlach, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, recently said his party will not tolerate the formation of neofascist parties and organizations in the GDR or branches of the FRG Republikaner Party.

But let us not forget the forthcoming elections to the GDR People's Chamber, due to be held in May next year. Will there not be a change in the stance of certain parties which, in the pursuit of votes, might interpret the question of reunification of the two German states differently from how they do at present?

Yakovlev Meets Hungary's Vastagh, France's Joxe

PM2812145289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Announcements"]

[Text] A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on 27 December had a talk with P. Vastagh, member of the Hungarian Socialist Party Presidium, who was in the USSR on a working visit.

P. Vastagh spoke of the formation of the Hungarian Socialist Party, expressing the opinion that Hungary's left-wing forces, which are fragmented today, will find ways of collaborating in the interests of the renewal of socialism. A.N. Yakovlev dwelt on certain questions of perestroyka and emphasized the Soviet Communists' readiness for contacts with all Hungary's political forces that are committed to the ideas of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation.

A number of practical accords were reached on the development of ties between the CPSU and the Hungarian Socialist Party in the near future.

The conversation took place in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

On the same day, A.N. Yakovlev received French Interior Minister P. Joxe, a prominent figure in the French Socialist Party, who is in the USSR on an official visit.

During the businesslike, constructive conversation, questions of mutual interest were touched on, in particular the relationship between the level of crime and the dynamics of the processes of social development. At P. Joxe's request, he was briefed on the progress of perestroyka and the work of the recently completed Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies and its decisions.

V.A. Kryuchkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR KGB, received P. Joxe and had a talk with him.

L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, also met with the French interior minister.

Questions of extending Soviet-French economic cooperation were touched on, as well as ways of extending mutual contacts in the sphere of problems of management and coordination of actions in emergencies.

V.V. Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs, took part in the meetings with A.N. Yakovlev and L.A. Voronin.

J.-M. Merillon, French ambassador to the USSR, took part in all the French interior minister's meetings.

Vastagh Briefs Press on Talks

LD2812131589 Moscow TASS in English 1308 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 28 TASS—The Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) will continue to expand friendly relations with the Soviet Communist Party, Presidium member Pal Vastag told reporters here today.

Vastag is visiting the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

This is the first visit by a HSP delegation to Moscow, Vastag said.

Vastag had talks with Soviet Politburo member Aleksandr Yakovlev to discuss a wide range of issues. The sides agreed on a programme of contacts between the CPSU and HSP for the near future.

In January HSP Presidium Member Imre Pozsgay will visit the Soviet Union, HSP Chairman Rezso Nyers will make a visit later in the year, Vastag announced.

"We are also prepared to exchange working delegations to share experience on preparing new rules for the CPSU and HSP," he said.

Vastag gave a detailed description of developments in Hungary.

The HSP was created by political forces convinced that only social restructuring can help overcome the crisis, he stressed.

This is a key difference between the HSP with the newly-created Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

The HSP now has about 60,000 members, only 7-8 per cent of the former HSWP membership, he said.

"This is less than we expected," Vastg said, adding that the wide support of the people, rather than the number of members, will be crucial for the party during the coming parliamentary elections.

The HSP is now preparing its own concept of security, he said.

Hungary wants a more dynamic disarmament process in Europe.

"We regard the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary in this context."

Lithuanian Sajudis Group Continues Poland Visit

LD2812214889 Warsaw PAP in English 1956 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 28—"We are doing a good job starting to settle the problems that exist in relations between us," head of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring "Sajudis" Vytautas Landsbergis said in the wake of the two-day talks with the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group headed by Bronislaw Geremek.

They discussed the need to strengthen the feeling of safety and mutual confidence, and problems of the border traffic, prospects for economic cooperation, legal and historical issues of the Polish- Lithuanian relations and the situation of Lithuanians in Poland and Poles in Lithuania.

On Thursday, the "Sajudis" delegation met with Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski and state minister in the Polish President's Chancellary Piotr Nowina-Konopka.

TASS, PAP Sign Cooperation Agreement

LD2812110689 Moscow TASS in English 1059 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 28 TASS—The Soviet news agency TASS and the Polish PAP press agency today signed an agreement on cooperation in the sphere of information.

The agreement was signed by TASS General Director Leonid Kravchenko and PAP Editor-in-chief Bogdan Jachacz.

PZPR Elects Delegates to Upcoming Congress

LD2712144989 Moscow TASS in English 1432 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw December 27 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Pershin:

The party elections that have just ended were an important landmark on the road to the 11th Congress of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) scheduled to open on January 27, 1990. As many as 1,474 delegates have been elected.

As decided by the 16th PUWP plenary meeting, members of the Party Deputies Club will take part in the party congress on an equal footing with those elected, provided they have corresponding authorisation from their primary organisations.

Discussed during the election campaign, as decided by the 16th party pelnum, were drafts of the PUWP programme and rules, as well as ideological and political platforms proposed by leading party organisations and representatives of the intelligentsia. These documents contain proposals to reform the Polish United Workers Party, map out ways to enhance its role and authority in society, and to extricate the country from the dragged out crisis.

Summing up the results of the elections, the party Politburo noted that there were few workers and peasants among the delegates. It recommended that the Central Committee invite to the party congress representatives from workers' and peasants' organisations. They could be delegated by their respective organizations. This would allow the congress to get a clearer idea of the views of the working class and peasantry.

LCY Presidium Member D. Ckrebic Visits USSR

Meets Yakovlev 26 Dec

PM2812143589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Dec 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting at CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A.N. Yakovlev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on 26 December met with D. Ckrebic, member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium, who was on a working visit in the USSR. There was a detailed exchange of opinions on the development of restructuring processes in both countries and on fundamental attitudes toward the preparation for the upcoming CPSU and LCY congresses and international questions of mutual interest.

R.P. Fedorov, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; V.P. Loginov, USSR ambassador to Yugoslavia; and M. Veres, SFRY ambassador to the USSR, also participated in the conversation, which took place in a spirit of mutual understanding and trust, characteristic of CPSU and LCY relations.

TANJUG Reports Meeting

LD2712134389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0949 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, 27 Dec (TANJUG)—Dusan Ckrebic, member of the League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, who is on a short working visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, had talks with Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

The talks, which were held in a friendly atmosphere, covered some general issues of the development of socialism in the modern phase, as well as the current processes of reforms in socialist countries, especially in Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

The collocutors assessed that these are objectively conditioned and inevitable processes, and that they represent removal of major aberrations of the hitherto development of socialism, which, as Yakovlev put it, "stripped the idea of socialism of its essence: democracy".

The return to democracy opens up all wealth of uniqueness of individual countries, which was stifled by a uniform approach and the absence of equality in relations between them.

Special attention was paid to the situation in Romania, where the system was deformed in the shape of personal tyranny, which inevitably brought about people's revolt and, unfortunately, cost many lives.

The collocutors agreed in the assessment that the processes of reforms in socialist countries will have a positive impact on the course of all-European integration, stability, and cooperation.

Yakovlev also discussed the results of the just held CPSU Central Committee Plenum. He stressed that the policy of perestroyka is passing through a phase of comprehensive discussions and polemics, but that the CPSU leadership views this as normal and a component part of the democratization of society and the party. The CPSU leadership remains firmly on this course, Yakovlev stressed, and it will go neither left nor right but resolutely straight ahead.

Yakovlev expressed optimism in regard to further development of the policy of perestroyka and resolving many complex problems. A decision was made that the work on the adoption of many systemic laws—separation of the competence between the center and federal units, consolidation of local self-management, and other forms of popular power—are to be speeded up, which will give a new impetus to the development of society.

Ckrebic and Yakovlev mutually assessed that the social practices of the LCY and the CPSU coincide in many respects, from where the need for and usefulness of a more frequent exchange of experiences and constructive dialogue between the two parties stems.

Milan Veres, Yugoslav ambassador to the Soviet Union, attended the talks.

Received by Vorotnikov 27 Dec

PM2912090989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Dec 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Friendly Conversation"]

[Text] On 27 December V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium, had a meeting with D. Ckrebic, member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium, who was in the Soviet Union on a working visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

There was a comradely exchange of opinions on the course of social transformations in the USSR and the SFRY and on some questions of Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation.

The following took part in the conversation: V.M. Vinogradov, RSFSR foreign minister; A. Sekulovic, head of the LCY Central Committee Presidium International Cooperation Department; V.P. Loginov, Soviet ambassador to the SFRY; and M. Veres, SFRY ambassador to the Soviet Union.

D. Ckrebic left for home the same day.

TANJUG Report

LD2712155889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1437 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, 27 Dec (TANJUG)—Dusan Ckrebic had talks today with Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Chairman of the Presidium of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet.

In the course of cordial and friendly talks, attention was focussed on the topical events in both countries and activities of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] and the CPSU on reviving reform processes.

Ckrebic informed about the preparations for the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress and the topical issues of economic reform, reform of the political system, and LCY renewal. On that point he stressed that there are still many open issues and that the LCY's task is to create in society an atmosphere of tolerance, mutual respect, and discussion backed by arguments, which is the only guarantee that common solutions will be found on all issues on which there is not agreement.

Talking about the current processes in the USSR, Vorotnikov stressed that the hitherto course of perestroyka shows that it is a revolutionary transformation of society, especially on the plane of social consciousness and liberation of people's initiative.

However, negative phenomena with social and political resistance, radical approaches, centrifugal tendencies and the like, accompany the process. The CPSU firmly holds that pluralism of opinions and of democratic development of unified action should be respected, Vorotnikov stressed.

Ckrebic pointed out that the LCY views with sympathy the process of perestroyka and the policy of new thinking, and that it regards them as signficant not only for the USSR but for reevaluation of the idea of socialism.

In the course of the talks, attended by SFRY Ambassador to Moscow Milan Veres, the development of the relations between the two countries was assessed highly by both parties; but, at the same time, it was noted that all opportunities, especially on economic plane, are not being used and that both sides should invest efforts in a search for new forms of cooperation in this area.

Ckrebic today concludes his short working visit to the Soviet Union and returns to Yugoslavia.

LCY Central Committee Plenum Ends

LD2712232289 Moscow TASS in English 2201 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade December 28 TASS—The 29th full-scale meeting of the Yugoslavian Communist Party Central Committee ended work here on Wednesday. Its participants discussed draft documents of the 14th (extraordinary) congress of the party scheduled for January next year.

The draft declaration of the congress on ways to develop socialist democracy in Yugoslavia is among these documents. The declaration will be discussed by party primary organizations.

The plenum approved the report on the work of the Central Committee between the congresses and documents about transformations in the Communist Party and economic and political reforms in the country.

Many speakers called for the preservation of the Communist Party as a single organization.

The plenum decided to work out a new programme of the Yugoslav Communist Party and submit it for consideration of the congress. It was decided by a majority vote to discuss at the party's supreme forum the possible introduction of a two-year term for chairman of the Party Central Committee.

The plenum considered the proposal of the recent congress of the Croatian Communist Party to postpone the 14th Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party and favoured the decision to hold the congress as previously planned—on January 20 to 22.

LCY Sees Need For Radical Restructuring

WA2812204489 Moscow PRAVDA In Russian 25 Dec 89 Second Edition p 6

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent Ye. Fadeyev: "Search for Compromise"]

[Text] Belgrade—The congresses of the leagues of communists of Bosnia and Hercegovina, Croatia and Serbia have in the past 2 weeks been at the center of the attention of the local media. Preparations for the 14th (Special) LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Congress are entering the final stage.

Were we to attempt to collate the work of the republic congresses, the main theme might sound as follows: The need for radical reform of the LCY is obvious to all, primarily the communists themselves. The party's inability to mobilize society to combat the crisis which has gripped the economy and the social and political life of the country is obvious to the naked eye.

A factional struggle, commentators observe, is under way in the LCY leadership which could ultimately bring about a split in the party. As one of its prominent members, S. Korosec, recently observed, "dangerous national disconnection" is simultaneously being observed increasingly in the LCY. Just after these words had been spoken, there was a serious conflict between the republics of Slovenia and Serbia, which observers believe is a consequence of the social and economic crisis in the SFRY.

There are many people in the country today who are inquiring bluntly: Is the LCY ready in such a state to hold its forum planned for the end of next January? Certain delegates to the republic congresses, specifically Ivica Racan, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, spoke about this also. "The confrontation in many spheres of the country's party and social and political life," he observed, "is a dangerous threat to the 14th (Special) Congress. The forecasts concerning the possibility of a split there are by no means abstract."

Nijaz Durakovic, chairman of the Bosnia and Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee, candidly declared in an interview: "As the LCY congress approaches, the disagreements and lack of unity are becoming increasingly tangible and the contradictions and debate are intensifying. These are no longer just differences of opinion, but virtually a dialogue of the deaf, almost ideological warfare. Attending a congress under such conditions would be largely suicidal."

The congresses of the leagues of communists of Bosnia and Hercegovina, Croatia, and Serbia were pointed and uncompromising. The elections of their executive bodies, as well as of the chairmen of the central committee presidiums, were conducted by secret ballot, from several candidacies. The future LCY Central Committee candidates and also delegates to the party forum were also elected from among several communists.

What united the congresses in Sarajevo, Zagreb, and Belgrade? Primarily common concern for the country's future, implementation of the planned reforms in economic, social, and political life and transformations in the party. There was also talk of the fact that the complex processes occurring in Yugoslavia demand an immediate halt to the "skirmishes" between individual party leaders. "If the policy of confrontation continues," TANJUG writes in its commentary, "renewal and the formulation of a program for the future are not be expected from the upcoming LCY congress."

The congresses of the leagues of communists in the republics clearly spotlighted the alignment of forces. On the one hand, there are in the country quite strong groups which believe that it is necessary to preserve the existing model of the party, which is today practically the sole arbiter in all matters. Others, on the other hand, are calling for the abandonment of this model of a monopoly party and for its conversion into a democratic organization which operates on the political stage together with others. A particular stumbling block, the Yugoslav media write, are the relations between the republic (regional) party organizations and the center. Two extreme positions are observed here. One is the creation of a party with a strong common center. Its chief supporter is Serbia. Others, however, advocate the greater independence of the republic leagues of communists. Slovenia and Croatia support this. Many people, it must be confessed, do not accept their positions and believe that this will cause a split in the LCY.

Nonetheless, something that had not happened before in the history of the Yugoslav party happened at Zagreb at the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Croatia. In the final document charting the tasks pertaining to the rearrangement and renewal of society and an expansion of political pluralism, a number of delegates, acting in unison with the representatives of certain informal associations, proposed the introduction in the republic of a multiparty system. The Zagreb congress presented the initiative to postpone the 14th (Special) LCY Congress.

The debate in the party continues. It is becoming increasingly keen. This was particularly noticeable at the congress of the communists of Slovenia—the last of the republic and regional forums—which has just ended. Slovenia's communists called for the creation of a coalition which would include, besides the communists, all forces in agreement with their program and platform.

Deputy Defense Minister Visits SFRY Embassy

PM2912144989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Dec 89 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Embassy Reception"]

[Text] Col. Z. Lorencini, military, navy, and air attache at the Yugoslav Embassy in the USSR, gave a reception 21 December to mark Yugoslav People's Army Day. Army General V.M. Arkhipov, USSR deputy defense minister, and USSR Armed Forces generals and officers were present at the reception.

V. Milan, Yugoslav ambassador to the USSR, attended the reception.

Independent Bulgarian Trade Union Viewed

PM2912102989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent A. Kapralov: "Bulgaria: What is 'Podkrepa' Calling For?"]

[Text] Sofia—The collapse of Ceausescu's dictatorship in Romania has caused rejoicing among the Bulgarians. They responded to the events in the neighboring country not only with numerous meetings held throughout Bulgaria. Thousands of people have given blood and paid money into a special account and brought food and clothing to be sent to Romania. The Bulgarian Red Cross has sent trucks with medical supplies.

Something similar to the events in Romania could have happened in Bulgaria, the newspaper TRUD writes. But that did not happen, thanks to the healthy nucleus in the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], which put an end to absolute rule and laid the foundation for the renewal processes in Bulgaria.

These processes are making rapid headway, although, understandably, they cannot be completed in an hour. Thus, the cadre changes which have taken place at the very top have had little effect on the middle leadership echelon, on the periphery. Democratic elections to the National Assembly are still only in the future. The BCP has firmly adopted a course toward dialogue with all social forces and is already steering it without pressure and attempts to dictate its opinion. But such attempts have appeared on the part of the BCP's opponents.

This is the case with the statement by the independent trade union "Podkrepa" ("Support") adopted and published in the Bulgarian press. In particular, the statement says that the events in Romania show where a totalitarian regime can lead and concludes that in Bulgaria after 10 November this regime has remained virtually untouched. In this connection "Podkrepa" demands nothing more nor less than the resignation of the government and the formation of a coalition cabinet, the dissolution of the National Assembly and the collective resignation of the BCP Central Committee and all Central Committee department leaders and their deputies, and all oblast and community party committee leaders, and the dissolution of workplace party organizations. To achieve these goals the independent labor federation is calling for meetings, demonstrations, and a general strike.

I stress that Bulgarian readers were acquainted with the "Podkrepa" statement not in an interpretation, which is so convenient for "routing" a political opponent, but with its full published text. The chairman of the independent trade union also spoke on television. That is why the talk was on an equal basis.

The BCP Central Committee statement published in the same issue of RABOTNICHESKO DELO as the "Podkrepa" statement says that the aims of its authors are clearly defined: to destroy the basic structures of the political system existing in Bulgaria and remove the BCP from public life. For their part, the BCP Central Committee statement says, they are openly seeking power, wholly and immediately. What, the statement asks, is forcing these people to attack, to push the nation toward destabilization, division, and confrontation? Obviously the reason is that they are afraid of truly free and democratic elections with which the people rightly link their expectations for building a humane and civilized civilian society and a rule-of-law state. The Bulgarian people, the statement says, have enough wisdom and common sense to understand correctly the true aims and motives of those who, guided by poorly concealed personal ambitions, are trying to push the country into the abyss of chaos and anarchy.

The Bureau of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions assessed the "Podkrepa" statement as political adventurism. It immediately announced its readiness for dialogue and cooperation with the independent labor federation. The "Podkrepa" platform gave grounds for this. Now, however, the bureau statement notes, there arises the question of with whom it is to work—with a trade union which expresses and defends the social interests of its members or a political force struggling for power. If the latter, we would not want to be their partners.

In a democratic country, TRUD writes, each person can seek by legal means to take part in the management of the country, but here he must say openly what he is offering, because the desire to overthrow the authorities is not actually a program.

Radio's Japanese Beam Views Events in E. Europe

OW2212113089 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1200 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Pogodin commentary]

[Text] I would like to begin by reminding you that the following is my personal, subjective view:

I have no intention at all of questioning the fairness of evaluations of events taking place in East Europe. The events in East Europe are essentially for democratization and reform of socialism. They are the result of domestic developments and are the result of choices by the people. The Soviet Union believes that people of these nations have the right to determine their own destiny. Chairman Gorbachev, in reference to the events in East Europe, has said that he welcomes these forward-looking changes, while understanding the domestic and international difficulties which accompany such moves.

There is nothing to dispute in all this, but I would like to talk about several points of concern. I admit that we must recognize that there are various political forces affecting the development of the events, ranging from those supporting the idealogy of socialism to those seeking another way of social development. This is only natural, but I think that this should be so when there are no forces that want to exploit the democracy movement to promote their own purposes which run counter to the moves.

I say this now because there are several countries in the West that are still trying to utilize the moves in East Europe for their own political interests, in disregard of the principle of noninterference in other country's domestic affairs.

For instance—and I am not being cynical—the economic aid to East European nations is in large part decided by how close the countries concerned approach the standards of the West in political democracy. There are some political parties, operating in name only, which are pursuing their own schemes. For one, [words indistinct], one of the organizations under [words indistinct] in West Germany, has expressed its intention to organize its network in East Germany, the GDR, and to have its members run in the parliamentary election next year.

Things like this need to be compared to the actions of some radicals in East Germany. There are incidents that cannot be explained away simply as a revelation of political emotions that have caught fire. For example, there were demonstrations in various parts of Poland last Wednesday. At that time, there were people who attacked government office buildings and damaged some memorial objects. These acts were intentional.

I have no intention of dramatizing the events, nor am I trying to to cause uneasiness, but I believe there are reasons for feeling uneasy and wary about some events which apparently are aimed at influencing the democracy movement going on in East European nations.

In conclusion, I wish to repeat what I said in the beginning—the above are my personal views.

West Europe

Karpov, French Official Discuss Disarmament

PM2812142189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 11

[TASS report under general heading "Consultations in Paris"]

[Text] Paris, 22 Dec—Soviet-French consultations on disarmament problems were held here 20 December. They took place on the instruction of the two countries' foreign ministers, instructions issued during their latest meeting in Moscow in November. The Soviet delegation was headed by V.P. Karpov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and the French delegation was headed by P. Gelluy, head of the strategic affairs and disarmament section of the French Foreign Ministry. During the consultations prime attention was paid to the discussion of problems of conventional forces reduction in Europe, banning chemical weapons, and preventing the arms race in space. A meeting between V.P. Karpov and B. Dufourcq, director of the Political Department of the French Foreign Ministry was also held.

Karpov Meets WEU Assembly Chairmen 18 Dec

PM2812144589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 11

[TASS report under the general heading: "Consultations in Paris"]

[Text] Paris, 21 Dec—V.P. Karpov [USSR deputy foreign minister] met with the Committee of Chairmen of the Western European Union [WEU] Assembly 18 December. During their conversation questions of disarmament, European security, the development of the situation in Central and Eastern Europe, and prospects for strengthening contacts between the Assembly and the USSR Supreme Soviet were discussed.

Economic Cooperation Protocol With Greece Signed

LD1612225789 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] The Soviet Union and Greece have signed a protocol on economic cooperation in Athens. The sides have admitted the need to step up efforts to diversify their trade. They see hope in such projects as supplies of Soviet natural gas to Greece, purchases of Greek goods, and joint cooperative ventures.

Controversy Over U.S. Bases in Greece Viewed

NC2412071189 Moscow in Greek to Greece 2000 GMT 23 Dec 89

[(Aleksandr Mikhaylov) commentary: "U.S. Military Presence in Greece]

[Text] I am writing these lines a year after the 17-month deadline in the plan for the withdrawal of the U.S. bases from Greek soil. Will they withdraw? A year ago this question was at the center of everyone's attention. For a while the two pre-election campaigns overshadowed it, but today, 5 months before the expiration of the agreement to allow U.S. bases to remain in Greece, this question is again a central political issue, as confirmed by the big demonstration Thursday [21 Dec] in Athens.

On that day a live human chain was formed from the Foreign Ministry to the U.S. Embassy, whose troops are on Greek soil and have been throughout the postwar years. Will next May be the last month of the almost 45-year history of the U.S. military presence in Greece? This question remains open, as it did a year ago. The only thing we can say with certainty is that in the time remaining both the support for and the opposition to the U.S. military presence in Greece are intensifying their activities.

The choice of the former is already known. Specifically, they seek a 6-month extension of U.S. bases in Greece. Simple calculation shows that during this 6-month period the White House hopes to find a common language with the new Greek Government.

The opposition's reply to a U.S. presence on Greek soil is also known. All kinds of talks are rejected. The bases must withdraw. Those who demonstrated on Thursday in Athens supported this position. It was announced in the Greek capital that the issue of the future of the bases in Greece would be discussed. In a relevant reply, the committee of the Coalition of the Left and Progress in Athens stated that this issue is not open to discussion. In their opinion, a foreign military presence does not serve the interests of Greece and is the opposite of detente. The discussion is continuing, and for the time being the issue of whether Greece will be included in the countries free of foreign bases remains open.

Finally, I am writing this while news agencies report the U.S. raid against the sovereign state of Panama, a raid which started from U.S. military bases located in the Panama Canal Zone.

Greek Communist Party Plenum Reported

90UI0235A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent V. Potapov: "Communist Party of Greece Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Athens, 23 December—A plenum of the Communist Party of Greece Central Committee has been held here. It discussed the domestic political situation in the country.

The Central Committee affirmed that explosive problems had built up in all areas of economic and social life. Owing to its nature and its limited term of authority, the present K. Zolotas cabinet cannot solve them. However, the plenum's decisions say, the government could contribute to an easing of the present difficulties by way of the consistent implementation of the commitments assumed pertaining to protection of the working people's income and people-oriented democratic legislative activity.

The plenum of the party of Greek Communists condemned the United States' military intervention in Panama and described it as imperialist suppression of a sovereign independent state.

Events occurring in the socialist countries were examined. The plenum welcomed all the changes, which are leading to a renewal of socialism, a cleansing thereof, and its elevation to a new level of development.

The plenum paid great attention to problems of intraparty life. The Communist Party of Greece Central Committee emphasized that the party is today confronted by complex new demands. It was decided in this connection to strengthen the Central Committee Politburo. The leading body of Greek Communists also adopted a decision on preparations for and the convening of the 13th party congress next fall.

Gorbachev Expresses Thanks for British TV Award

LD2812160189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1505 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] London, 28 Dec (TASS)—M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has been awarded the "forward-looking person" award for his personal contribution to strengthening mutual understanding and peace between the peoples.

The award was conferred as a result of an opinion poll conducted by ITV, the largest television association in Great Britain, among the British public, about achievements in various spheres of human activity in the 1980's.

M.S. Gorbachev has sent greetings to British citizens which say: "I would like to express my gratitude to all of those who put my name among the people who have made a contribution to strengthening peace and mutual understanding between peoples. This decision of yours as an appraisal of my efforts in the human sphere pleases me and I value it very much. But I want to say that this choice reflects—and I am convinced of this—the attitude of the British public to our state's policy, to perestroyka, to those enormous transformations taking palce in our country and in the world as a whole under the influence of new thinking and an understanding of all of those problems in the resolving of which all of mankind is interested."

"Perestroyka and glasnost—these new approaches of ours—have become understandable and dear to the peoples of the planet, for in them lies the answer to a burning question of the present day: How to live further in peace, how to cooperate in our common home, and how, together, to overcome the problems put before mankind by all the development of life."

"Our choice is the very recognition of the fact that new political thinking is gaining a hold in people's awareness, not only in our country but also everywhere in the world."

"On the eve of the New Year I would like to express sincere wishes for happiness, prosperity, and peace to the people of Great Britain, toward whom Soviet people nurture the best of feelings."

There was a festive ceremony in the London Palladium Theater to hand over the awards. L.M. Zamyatin, USSR ambassador in Great Britain, accepted the British Television award for M.S. Gorbachev.

Swedish Embassy Hosts Baltic Deputies

LD1612203189 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1130 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] Yesterday evening all the Baltic members of the Supreme Soviet [as heard] were invited to the Swedish Embassy in Moscow. This invitation can be regarded as an attempt to improve relations between Sweden and the Baltic states following Foreign Minister Sten Andersson's tour of the Baltic countries and the debate that followed it.

[V. Savich] The fact that the Baltic leaders of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have felt very great irritation toward Swedish Foreign Minister Sten Andersson is no secret. It was in connection with his visit to the Baltic countries that Sten Andersson declared that Sweden does not regard the Baltic states as now being occupied by the Soviet Union. The fact that the irritation is still very great was also noticed yesterday when the Baltic representatives came to the Swedish Embassy in Moscow. It was very tense to start with. The embassy had invited all the Estonian, Lithuanian, and Latvian people's deputies taking part in the session of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet, a total of 45 people. Among those present were Latvian Premier Vilnis-Edvins Bresis and Latvian President Gorbunov.

Dinner followed the brief opening speech by Swedish Ambassador Oerjan Berner, who stressed that Sweden wants good contacts with the Baltic states. There was no doubt of the fact that the Baltic representatives clearly understood that this was a reconciliation attempt by the Swedish side. A Lithuanian representative told me that it was self-evident that this was a reconciliation attempt by the Swedish side, but, he added, Sten Andersson's statement was clumsy and would not be forgotten by everyone in Lithuania. Another parliamentarian from Estonia said it would be impolite of me to speak unfavorably of our hosts, but Sten Andersson's statement was very incautious and inappropriate. He added that the matter must now be regarded as closed. This was stated by an Estonian representative who was supported by a colleague from Lithuania.

I do not know whether Sten Andersson wanted to give his support to Mikhail Gorbachev to aid him in his campaign against the conservative Communist forces in the Soviet Union. Perhaps it was a tactical move. But one thing is certain: This was hardly support for us Lithuanians and Baltic people in our process of democracy, said the parliamentarian from Lithuania.

KGB Asks for Swedish Help To Protect Secrets

PM2912112989 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 20 Dec 89 p 6

[Report on interview with KGB Colonel Viktor Ogarov by Bobo Scheutz in Stockholm: "The KGB Wants To Learn Swedish Secrets Protection Methods"; date of interview not given]

[Text] The Soviet security service, the KGB, has turned to Swedish industry and commerce to learn how to protect industrial and commercial secrets.

At present Stockholm is being visited by KGB Colonel Viktor Ogarov, head of the department for the protection of secrets at the KGB's headquarters in Moscow. He is here to try to establish contacts with Swedish companies prepared to share the security lessons they have learned. However, interest on the Swedish side has been limited so far.

You would perhaps think that if there was anything the KGB was good at it would be protecting secrets, and you might wonder what the powerful Soviet security service could have to learn about it in Sweden.

"Protecting economic secrets is nothing new for us. We have been involved in doing that as long as there have been secrets. But what is new is being able to make secure commercial and other information that is needed in cooperation ventures with foreign companies. That is a demand being made by our Western cooperation partners and we have no experience in this field," Colonel Ogarov said.

"Now that economic links with the rest of the world are developing so rapidly in the Soviet Union these problems have become acute. Also, at present a new law governing ownership in our country is being prepared. This means that these problems will acquire a new dimension when it comes to company information which does not affect the state, but collectives and cooperatives. That information cannot be protected using the methods we have used hitherto to protect state secrets," Colonel Ogarov said.

He stated several times that he is not in Sweden to gain access to any secrets, but to learn some of the lessons learned by Swedish companies.

"But it is no accident that we have chosen Sweden as the first country to which to turn," he said. "We know that Swedish companies have great experience in this field and we believe that Swedish companies that want to cooperate with the Soviet Union are at least as interested as we are in improving this type of protection."

Asked why, with its resources, the KGB cannot build up such a system itself, Ogarov replied:

"Of course we could, but like everyone else we want to learn from the body of international experience that exists. You could say that that is part of perestroyka."

[Scheutz] Does the fact that you are now setting out completely openly to acquire information from Swedish companies mean that the KGB is changing its working methods?

"Of course," Colonel Ogarov said, after considering the question carefully. "In keeping with the pace of the development of perestroyka and glasnost, we have changed."

[Scheutz] Does this mean that the KGB's area of responsibility has changed?

"It is not a case of a change in the work we do," the colonel said after another pause for thought. "The KGB's task is to protect the Soviet state and the socialist social system. That is what the KGB has always done and will continue to do. But the forms and methods of our work have changed. You can take this visit of mine to Sweden as an example."

[Scheutz] Has the KGB, which is, after all, a large organization, paid heed to Mikhail Gorbachev's call for cuts in the bureaucracy? Has the KGB shrunk under perestroyka?

[Ogarov] It is not true that the KGB is a large organization. The information relating to the size of the KGB is still secret, but if a decision is made to make it public, you will be surprised by what small resources we have. As far as bureaucracy within the KGB is concerned, we do not have any. The KGB is organized on military lines and we have the characteristics of a military organization.

[Scheutz] But has the organization remained as it was or has it shrunk?

[Ogarov] Certain measures have been adopted to reduce the number of employees in the same way as in the whole of the state apparatus. Perestroyka has affected us as far as the number of employees is concerned.

[Scheutz] Is this the first time that you are traveling completely openly on official business?

[Ogarov] Yes.

[Scheutz] How does it feel? Does it feel strange?

[Ogarov] Purely professionally, I have not learned that much yet because I have not made so many contacts.

[Scheutz] Has your work changed as a result of the fact that you can now work completely openly?

[Ogarov] No, the work has not changed, but it has increased because in the past we did not work on the protection of commercial secrets.

[Scheutz] But if you can work completely openly, it could be thought that much of the KGB's previous secrecy was unnecessary.

[Ogarov] To some extent it was unnecessary. It is part of perestroyka that we are now dismantling the secrecy surrounding the KGB's activities. Your picture in the West of the KGB will change as the KGB's activities change.

[Scheutz] Do we in the West have the wrong idea about what the KGB is and what your work is?

[Ogarov] Yes, of course.

[Scheutz] But in what respects are we wrong, for surely we are not totally wrong?

[Ogarov] It is, of course, impossible to say that you are wrong in all respects, but we would like you in the West to see us as we are in reality.

[Scheutz] And how are you in reality?

[Ogarov] Like this. [Ogarov ends]

Colonel Viktor Ogarov opened his arms, smiled and proffered himself as an example of the new open KGB.

It will probably be difficult to sell the picture of a smiling KGB to Swedish companies, and it seems unlikely that security bosses at the major exporting companies will be willing to share their knowledge.

"The internal security models are company secrets in themselves and are not something that companies give away to anyone," answers director Holger Bjarnlid of the Swedish Industry and Commerce Emergency Planning Bureau [Naeringslivets Beredskapsbyraa] in Stockholm, which deals with questions of the sort to which the KGB wants.

"The fundamental principles for this type of protection can be found in the international literature on the subject, but what is interesting is the methods which the companies use in risk management, for example. And people do not give these out to outsiders, whether they come from East or West," director Bjarnlid said.

Delegation Visits Interpol Headquarters

LD2712102889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] For the first time, an official Soviet delegation led by Demidov, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs, has visited the headquarters of Interpol in Lyon. Members of the delegation familiarized themselves with the activity of the international criminal police organization. Interpol itself regarded the visit as evidence that the Soviet Union intends to join it. (Raymond Kendall), Interpol's secretary general, stressed that the Soviet Union is the only big country that is not a member of Interpol, which unites 150 states. Your country and the entire world community will profit by joining the international criminal police organization, (Kendall) said. The Soviet Union will be able to cooperate with the police on an international scale.

CPSU Officials Receive Finnish Social Democrats

PM2712165989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Links Develop"]

[Text] U. Iivari, general secretary of the Finnish Social Democratic Party, and Y. Elo [name as transliterated], secretary for international affairs, were in Moscow on 19-20 December at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Social Democratic Party representatives had meetings at the CPSU Central Committee International Department. During the talks, opinions were exchanged on a wide range of questions connected with the future development of the all-European process, the participation of the continent's left-wing forces in it, and the Finnish Social Democrats' initiative on holding a forum of European left-wing forces in September 1990. The sides also discussed the directions for the further development of ties between the CPSU and the Finnish Social Democratic Party.

Finnish Minister Received by CPSU Officials

PM2712170189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading "Links Develop"]

[Text] A conversation was held with I. Suominen, chairman of the National Coalition Party and Finnish minister of trade and industry, on 19 December at the CPSU Central Committee International Department.

Questions regarding the developing situation in Europe and Soviet-Finnish cooperation were discussed, as well as contacts between the CPSU and the National Coalition Party.

Latin America & Caribbean

Moscow Meeting Marks Cuban Revolution Anniversary

PM2812145089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Ceremonial Meeting"]

[Text] In a historically brief period the Island of Freedom, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba, has achieved great successes in building a new life. The Republic of Cuba enjoys deserved prestige in the international arena and makes a weighty contribution to resolving hotbeds of international tension, strengthening universal security, and establishing a new world economic order. This was stated at a ceremonial meeting of representatives of Moscow's working people to mark the 31st anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution. It was held on 27 December.

It was noted in the report and the speeches that, guided by common ideals, the Soviet Union and Cuba are advancing toward a single goal and resolving tasks to ensure the fullest possible utilization of socialism's creative potential, taking account of each country's national peculiarities. This progress along the planned path opens up considerable new opportunities for improving socialism and for the further fruitful development of Soviet-Cuban ties in all spheres. Emphasis was placed on the unvaryingly principled nature of the USSR's and Cuba's approach to the resolution of the Central American conflict, which rules out all outside interference, and on the course of peaceful political settlement of the situation in the region. This has again been revealed in the two countries' attitudes to the U.S. military incursion into Panama.

The meeting was addressed by R.F. Mirabal Fernandez, Cuban charge d'affaires in the USSR, who spoke about the main stages in the Cuban people's struggle for freedom and independence. He noted the profound, cordial nature of relations that link the two countries' peoples.

Taking part in the meeting were V.L. Lapygin, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Defense and State Security, the leaders of a number of ministries and departments, representatives of social organizations, and a delegation from the Cuban-Soviet Friendship Association headed by its vice president, J. Garcia Luis, chairman of the Cuban Journalists' Union.

Moscow Radio Magallanes Shuts Down

PY2212213189 Moscow Radio Magallanes in Spanish to Chile 0100 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] At this time of joy for all Chileans, it is difficult for us to close down this house that we have come to love, this house called Radio Magallanes which has closely followed the joys and sorrows of the Chilean people. However, it pleases us to do so because it means that Chile is on its way to democracy, and this makes it unnecessary for Radio Magallanes to broadcast from Moscow. It is time for the history-making Radio Magallanes to take its place in its fatherland, in Chile, so that from there it can report how free men walk along the broad avenues, as President Salvador Allende had dreamed.

Toward the end of this last Radio Magallanes program, we want to thank the Soviet people for their solidarity, which made it possible for us to broadcast. We also want to thank all the peoples in world for the solidarity they have shown with Chile's cause.

This is all we have to say in this last "Musical Magallanes" feature.

Signs Off

PY2212213589 Moscow Radio Magallanes in Spanish to Chile 0100 GMT 18 December 89

[Text] Thus ends this last Radio Magallanes broadcast. We thank our listeners for their attention during all these years of work. We sign off, but not forever. By way of farewell we would like to say: Until we meet again on a Chilean frequency.

"Voice of Fatherland" Program for Chile Ends

PY2812021989 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Text] Dear listeners: For 13 years you have listened without interruptions to this radio program, which in a certain way was actually a program within Chilean radio broadcasting. This program, which became well known in Chile and throughout the world, was aimed mainly at military men. This program began as follows: This is the "Voice of the Fatherland." [music]

Beginning 22 May 1976, we wanted to establish a tie, friendship through dialogue, and an exchange of opinions with Army, Navy, Air Force, and Carabineros officers who were forced by their commanders to support a dictatorial regime and to implement a repressive economic and institutional model against the will of the people and the Constitution.

Following what could be called a historical period, and with the victory of the democratic forces that brought an end to the regime of the national security doctrine, we think that we can say that we have fulfilled our mission. The information on the ideological struggle broadcast by this program and other international mass media contributed to the 14 December victory.

As we assess our program, we can say that the "Voice of the Fatherland" has always maintained its respect for the national defense institutions and an understanding of their necessary role in society and their duty to defend the country's dignity, sovereignty, national territory, resources, people, international prestige, and position within the international community.

This program has spread the patriotic voices of military men and all sectors of Chilean society who have sought since the beginning of the regime—which is retreating—to rescue dignity and military honor and to integrate with a democratic recovery process that is decisively opening the way.

Military men who were victims of repression, organizations made up of democratic military men, women, workers, and the youth of Chile, who still have much to say to the military, spoke on our programs.

The "Voice of the Fatherland" has aired the best pages written by Chilean heroes, the most outstanding events in military history, the legacies of generals like Rene Schneider and Carlos Pratt Gonzalez, and the theoretical thoughts of many other people.

This program was always sure that one day, as General Carlos Pratt once said, the fog over the camp would disappear. The day of awakening will be painful for many people, but a purification will also arrive. Today we are at this point in Chile's history. Democracy has been restored and the military and civilians must unite around Chile's common cause.

All of the problems have not been solved and not all of the achievements are ensured, but today's challenge offers more hope than yesterday's. The military also has a role in realizing the hopes of the Chilean people. The "Voice of the Fatherland" believes that it has fulfilled its duty in this process and in the history of the dedicated and courageous fight of the Chilean people, including the many military men who sacrificed their tranquillity, security, and even their lives in the attempt to restore democracy to that country.

The great democratic challenge is now poised before the Chilean military men. The victory of the people's will in the 14 December election opens up great possibilities for the development of their military careers, their professional skills, and their intellectual contribution to national reconstruction. The opposition coalition program, the program of President-elect Patricio Aylwin, urges us to carry out tasks in the various productive, cultural, and social sectors. The military men must overcome the obstacles that some insist on placing in the path to a rapprochement between the civilian and military worlds, which have been artificially separated by abysses of misery and pain that have resulted from the dictatorship that is about to end. Officers and soldiers can patriotically contribute to the great tasks of the present that are aimed at consolidating and defending the democracy for which the Chileans waited and fought so much.

The coalition emphatically stresses in its program that democracy must be based on economic growth, social justice, the participation of all citizens in the destiny of the country, and national autonomy. The democratic reconstruction must gradually overcome the inequities that currently exist in the country. The stability of democracy offers increasing opportunities for all and an equal chance to profit from development.

That program adds: After a long period of antagonism and profound conflict, Chile now has a unique opportunity to create the bases for a new national accord that will ensure the simultaneous advance of a stable economy and a real improvement in the living standard of the most destitute segments of society. In the country's new era, Chile's military men can understand and pursue these patriotic objectives, which are dictated by their consciences, history, and the blood of those who, like Generals Schneider and Pratt, gave their lives for democracy and for the dignity of the military institutions.

The history and people of Chile are attentively watching the behavior of the military men. This behavior must be adapted to the current times, to the will of the majority of the Chilean people, and to the requirements of Chilean development. [music]

It is now time to bring an end to this era, to say good bye to our friendly listeners. A new era is beginning in the country and we will contribute to it in a renewed way. The military problems, the problems of war and peace, of disarmament, and of the Armed Forces' role in society are intimately related to foreign affairs policies, coexistence, the democratization of peoples, the social process, progress, scientific and technical development, culture, and dreams for the future of humankind. This is why we will now carry a feature called "The Armed Forces and Society," which will be part of the "Escucha Chile" program that is broadcast from 2200-2330 and 2330-0000 Chilean time. We hope this feature will be of interest to you and that it will reflect the problems of Chile and of the world.

This is why, at the beginning of this new era, we are not saying a final good bye. Rather, we are saying: See you next Saturday, dear friends and listeners. We send our warm greetings to our military friends and to all the listeners who have accompanied us during the 13 years we have broadcast the "Voice of the Fatherland" on the Moscow international program "Escucha Chile." We also send greetings to all of you who have contributed with your testimonies, your knowledge, and your constructive criticism. Thanks to all of you in this last transmission of the "Voice of the Fatherland." [music]

Congress of People's Deputies

Abalkin Comments on Economic Program Adoption

904A0109A Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 20 Dec 89 p 1

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Leonid Abalkin by parliamentary correspondent M. Rostarchuk following adoption of government's economic program by Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies; date and place not given]

[Text] [Rostarchuk] Leonid Ivanovich, may I congratulate you as a member of the government—it having received a vote of confidence yesterday?

[Abalkin] Had the congress not supported the government program, the government would have submitted its resignation—our opinion on this score was firm and united, and we were prepared for such a step.

[Rostarchuk] You are one of the authors of the government program. How do you evaluate the criticism heard from the congress' platform?

[Abalkin] The point that no one has been able to propose an alternative to the government program was heard very clearly today at the sitting. After all, it is not a question of individual alternative proposals, but of an integral program distinct from ours. We have drawn up a program, and not slogans or appeals, and not a theoretical concept. This is a working plan, coordinated in terms of directions, timeframe and stages. And balanced with regard for national, ecological, international, social and political factors. I repeat, no one has proposed any alternative to the plan, even in first draft.

And as far as individual recommendations and prescriptions in the form of slogans are concerned, they cannot be an alternative to the program as a document. I would especially like to mention that it is for the first time in many decades, perhaps, that the highest organ of legislative authority has examined a document of such a level of critical effort. Of course, the program is not without shortcomings, nor could it have been ideal, without weaknesses. And it remains open to all intelligent, practical and constructive suggestions.

[Rostarchuk] Your critics insisted particularly on two proposals...

[Abalkin] We have two fundamental positions, about which I would like to speak. The proposals concerning monetary reform and the introduction of a rationing system were considered and studied by the government prior to the congress. And we rejected them quite convincingly and conclusively and will not return to them. After all, no one has presented any serious documents or critical studies in support of the expediency thereof.

[Rostarchuk] What will be done henceforth in terms of work on the program supported by the government?

[Abalkin] Now specific laws and more detailed subprograms of, say, formation of a socialist market or a new type of managerial corps will be prepared on the basis of the congress' instructions within the framework of our program...

[Rostarchuk] A number of deputies proposed "taking note" of the program, that is, entrusting the entire responsibility for its implementation to the government....

[Abalkin] The people's deputies constituting the whole congress are responsible to the country and they have promised the electorate to pull the country out of the economic crisis. They assumed responsibility when they set forth their programs in the course of the election struggle. And to attempt now to evade responsibility, to attempt to shift it entirely onto the government—this would surely be not that proper. And the proposal to "take note" of the government program seemed odd to me . Three days of discussing it at the congress was not necessary for this.

It should be a question here of who should make the choice. The government studied three alternative versions of the economic program. And settled its choice on the third one: on the program of reform, to which there is no alternative. So the question was whether the congress agreed with this or would merely "take note" of the government's choice.

That is, the deputies, like us also, had to decide: We will implement the reform "at a stroke" or we will display a certain caution and combine radicalism with consistency, advancing step by step in the right direction.

[Rostarchuk] So has the choice which the people's deputies were to have made today been made?

[Abalkin] I believe that it has. Not in detail, but on the most fundamental issues—for the coming years and for the historical destiny of the country.

Economist Comments on Government Economic Plan

904A0110A Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 20 Dec 89 p 2

[Report on interviews with USSR people's deputies on the government economic program, conducted by parliamentary correspondent L. Telen: "The Course Is Set. What Next?"—date and place of interview not given]

Nikolay Shmelev, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Planning and Budget-Finance Commission:

I personally agree with all that the government has recorded in its program. I have just one reservation, but a major one: all this is insufficient. I am not particularly interested in what it will be like for us in the next century, I am interested in the next few years. And I continue to insist on the system of measures which I have set forth repeatedly. What are our ailments? A shortage of consumer goods, a huge budget deficit, overheated money in the population, and capital belonging to people and enterprises which is not being used. I believe that the government is not adopting sufficient measures to resolve all these problems. The consumer market, for example. I do not understand why the government is continuing to stifle the cooperatives. And, what is most important, we can do nothing with overheated money. Panic and the disintegration of the market are increasing.

The situation which we are experiencing has been experienced by dozens of other countries. And the way out of this situation has been worked out over the decades. It is sufficient to recall postwar West Germany or an example which is closer in time—the Chile ofthe 1970's-1980's.... The list of methods here is approximately one and the same. Why are we so certain that we will find our, "third way"? Of course, a way out of the crisis is almost impossible without the attraction of outside resources. It is not only a question of the debt here—there are many other sources. Exports of raw material to the CEMA countries at world prices....

This should not, I believe, be feared. Some of the measures I propose have been taken into consideration in the government program, but only some. And this is, I repeat, insufficient to spare the country a general rationing system, an uncontrollable black market, and as a result, strict, crude monetary reform of the 1947 type.

Congress Agenda, Proceedings Assessed

90UN0541A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 51, 20 Dec 89 p 1

[Article by Yuriy Zarechkin: "Variants of Changes"]

[Text] The Congress of People's Deputies interrupted its work on Monday as a sign of sorrow and grief. Academician Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov was buried in the capital's modest Vostryakovo Cemetery. Not very long ago, in the first days of the congress, he appeared as usual at the deputy's rostrum and participated in discussions. And so the last send-off, but not a departure from life—he was and remains our conscience, an example of civic courage and humanity....

It is not easy to find the appropriate tone after words about the great contemporary, to come down to our sinful earth. Therefore, it will begin with what is very general: The political background of the week was not very even. Hot spots on the calendar and on the map were spread about according to the principle of "stuffed today and starved tomorrow." The broken rhythm of events, however, does not surprise anyone. We cannot talk about stability in society. The Second Congress of the USSR People's Deputies confirms this again with its own progress. It has been the center of attention for more than a week—and what a buffeting the deputy ship experienced in that short time!

The very first day, when the congress agenda was being discussed, became a kind of limbering-up for a whole series of pressing problems. Opinions also clashed on Article 6 of the Constitution, on the Committee of Constitutional Supervision, on the Tbilisi events in April, and on Nagorno-Karabakh.... There is no point in mentioning everything. I will note only that the growing parliamentary culture is removing a lot of tension, but this does not mean that the deputies have already become successful in discussion tactics. It is certainly possible to become more economical and not to waste a full official day on approving an agenda. I do not understand at all why the representatives of the deputy group met for 7 hours in a row for the same reason the day before. Why repeat the long since-outmoded practice of secret discussions?

Undoubtedly, the second numbered congress led the discussion about economics to another level. Remember: The first preferred impersonal models and did not indulge in conceptual thinking. Now, perhaps, personal responsibility is increasing and there is also less fear of alternatives. Although there should be no overestimation of the very nature of the discussions by the deputies of administrative reform, a lot had to be listened to that was ordinary and quite reminiscent of self-reporting and duty queries "on instructions." The party-administrative itch and the conservatism of a new defensive character surfaced in speeches, when the people, peasants, or workers are easily taken as allies and in their name the right is declared to preserve everything as it has been.

Of course, very few are pleased with the odds in the 6 years taken by the government for a full change in the administrative mechanism. We are troubled: What is to be done in today's extraordinary situation?

I suppose that at the congress, and not only at the congress, a trend has been noted to a covergence of positions, although this may seem, perhaps, a somewhat strange feature (There is a completely understandable thought in its implication: If not we, then who will think about the country?). The "idea of a new variant of change" surfaced in the Interregional Deputy Group: "We agree to administering, but in combination with an immediate introduction of a market (at the peak of this announcement, of course, could be heard the words of B.N. Yeltsin: The hybrid of an administrative-command system and a market is impossible). Among others, the appeal "not to put boring theoretical stuff before the people" dominates, and there is approximately this working hypothesis—either we need a bag of money or at least for once let us give out an order. It is even more surprising that at a specific moment there was agreement on proposals on the ration card system (radicals) and monetary reform (OFT) [United Workers' Front]. In my opinion, at the press conference, L.I. Abalkin very accurately characterized this occurrence as the "linking of two opposite ideas."

The debates at the congress switched from economics to other questions. However, no matter which one of them was discussed, it found the same widespread repercussions.

In particular, in Estonia, as our correspondent reports, a lot of emotion was aroused with respect to the order of priority of examining the question concerning the Committee on Constitutional Supervision and the report of the commission that examined the consequences of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact. It should not be forgotten that such an unusual reaction is more than a response to the political situation in the republic, where, as in Latvia, the results of the elections to local soviets have just been tabulated, and where the organs of authority are being formed on a different basis.

The elections in the Baltics, in fact, are occurring under multiparty conditions. The Communist Party in Latvia is virtually in the opposition. The People's Front received twice as many deputy seats (42.2 percent) as all of the remaining political forces. True, more than 1,100 seats will be distributed after the repeat elections in February and only then will we refine the figures.

There was a sharp reaction in the congress concerning Armenia and Azerbaijan, where particular attention is being given to how the people's deputies are reacting to the situation in NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast]. The information of the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondents and the comments on deputy discussions in Leningrad, Moldavia, Georgia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan have their own nuances.... Unfortunately, the framework of a regular commentary is too small to give a full picture of assessments and opinions. For the time being, I will limit myself to this minimum. The congress is still not over and I suppose that there will be a reason to return to the subject.

Kryuchkov Defends Congress Action on Group Appeals

PM2812170989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Dec 89 Second Edition p1

[Interview with G.K. Kryuchkov, USSR people's deputy and head of Congress of USSR People's Deputies Secretariat, by Yu. Nikolayev under rubric "Our Dialogue": "From the High Point of the Year"—date and place unspecified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpt] The year 1989, now drawing to a close, has many outstanding features characteristic of it alone. But I probably will not be wrong if I say that as far as we Soviet people are concerned, its main distinguishing features have been the radical renewal of our political system, all-round democratization, and efforts to unite forces in our revolutionary restructuring work. An important part of this work has been the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies, held at the apex of the year—December. I asked G.K. Kryuchkov to share his thoughts on the results of the congress. Georgiy Korneyevich headed the Congress Secretariat and had an excellent opportunity to observe not only the events in the sessions hall but also the more informal side of the proceedings, so to speak. He played a direct role in the organization of the parliamentary debates. Hopefully, his opinions will be of interest to readers.

[Nikolayev] So, the first question. Georgiy Korneyevich, how would you assess the results of the second congress as a whole?

[Kryuchkov] I would say that the congress was unquestionably a success, despite numerous attempts to distract it from the main points drawn up by the Supreme Soviet. On what do I base my opinion? Perhaps just on the one fact that the congress discussed the entire proposed agenda—if it did go beyond the limits of this agenda, again it was in order to find answers to the questions which most concern our society.

[Nikolayev] What do you mean when you say that attempts were made to distract the Congress?

[Kryuchkov] We members of the Secretariat were probably more acutely aware than other people's deputies of the full force of the pressure brought to bear by various forces demonstrating their disagreement with the agenda, expressing particular concern with various circumstances, and trying to impose their views and positions—in the literal sense of the word—on everyone present. This was reflected in particular in the demands made by some groups to have their statements distributed officially. The Secretariat received 76 such collective appeals. At the decision of the Secretariat and the Presidium, 39 of them were in fact distributed.

[Nikolayev] Why not all 76?

[Kryuchkov] You see, at least 20 deputies' signatures are needed to have any address circulated. Moreover, a considerable number of these requests were forwarded to the government and to Supreme Soviet committees and commissions with the consent of the petitioners themselves.

[Nikolayev] Nevertheless, I understand that you were criticized for refusing to authorize the circulation of a number of collective appeals or to publish statements with fewer than 20 signatures. In particular, deputies from the Interregional Group voiced their dissatisfaction strongly. Initially because their program statement "On Restructuring Today and in the Foreseeable Future" was not distributed, and then because there was confusion over the lists....

[Kryuchkov] The Secretariat and the Presidium refrained from distributing appeals which, by virtue of their tone or content, could have introduced complications into the congress' work, exacerbated relations among some groups of deputies, or contributed to fueling passions. This, I believe, was the correct stand to take. Unfortunately, we did not manage to stem the turbid stream of material of an inflammatory, slanderous, essentially anti-Soviet or overtly hooligan nature. This material did the rounds of the hotel rooms and halls without the knowledge of the Secretariat, needless to say.

With regard to the statement by the Interregional Group and also, I might say, statements from the rostrum by its leaders, it is not hard to guess their motives. It is not, of course, a question of deputies' being deprived of the opportunity to become acquainted with its program. I, for example, read that statement even before the congress—great efforts were made to have it circulated. In all probability, the jumpiness of the group leaders was due to something else: the fact that their strident, scathing document which claimed to be the ultimate truth failed to produce the expected effect among deputies.

[Nikolayev] Why was that, do you think?

[Kryuchkov] Because, unfortunately, there was nothing new or constructive behind the pompous phrases. Their proposed recipes for restructuring cause grave doubts. Although the authors of the statement refer to their "keen social observation," "survey statistics," and "cold good sense," their arguments are no more persuasive because of this. All of us were put on our guard by the categorical nature of their demands: to immediately eliminate the "compulsory vanguard, leading role of the CPSU," "economic ministries," "directive planning," and "the monopoly of the state farm-collective farm system." In short, knock it all down in one sweep.... [Passage omitted]

Constitutional Provisions on Congress Amended

PM2812161589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 1

["USSR Law on Clarification of Certain Provisions of USSR Constitution (Fundamental Law) on Questions of Procedure Governing Activity of Congress of USSR People's Deputies of USSR Supreme Soviet and of Its Organs"]

[Text] The Congress of USSR People's Deputies resolves that the following clarifications be made to the USSR Constitution:

1. Part 4 of Article 108 is to read:

"The Congress of USSR People's Deputies adopts USSR laws and resolutions, upon a vote, by a majority of the total number of USSR people's deputies. Resolutions of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies on the recall of the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman or of his first deputy are adopted, upon a vote, by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the total number of USSR people's deputies."

2. The first sentence of Part 4 of Article 110 is to read:

"Routine sittings of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies are held at least once a year."

3. Part 5 of Article 111 is to read:

"The Congress of USSR People's Deputies annually renews up to one-fifth of the composition of the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities."

4. Part 3 of Article 121 is to be supplemented with the following words: "The USSR Supreme Soviet first deputy chairman can be recalled at any time by the Congress of People's Deputies by a secret vote."

5. Part 4 of Article 122 is to read:

"Up to one-fifth of the composition of the standing commissions of the chambers and the committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet is annually renewed."

6. Article 130 is to be supplemented by a fourth part which is to read:

"The USSR Supreme Soviet can express no confidence in the USSR Government. A resolution on this question is adopted, on a vote, by not less than two-thirds of the total number of members of the USSR Supreme Soviet."

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Moscow, Kremlin, 20 December 1989.

Ukrainian Deputy Dissatisfied With Congress

LD2912134389 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 1945 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Excerpts] USSR people's deputies have returned home from their second congress. Our correspondent met with one of them, Petro Palanchuk, rector of Kiev Polytechnic.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] What are your impressions of the congress and its results?

[Palanchuk] [passage omitted] I belong to those deputies who are dissatisfied with the results of the session. We must solve as soon as possible the basic questions that demand our attention time and again. What I mean is that we must conclude a new all-union treaty. I stress, a new one. It would instantly make many internationality questions irrelevant and the remainder would lose their sharpness. As soon as we elect our representatives—in my view things should proceed precisely in this way, each republic has to elect fully mandated representatives—and as soon as these delegates sit around the table, many conflicts will fade away, and people will calm down and wait for the outcome of the talks.

Let us at last be (?logical). We call the country a union of equal republics. What the devil is this union when a republic works so hard and the center then grabs everything, forcing it to go begging on its knees to the center for this or that? How can we say in such circumstances that we are a sovereign republic? This is a deceiving life. So this is the number one question.

Here (?we have to look anew) on the Constitution. You know, there is already an idea, and in my opinion it deserves greater attention, that if we conclude such a good treaty, then there is no need for an all-union Constitution. If we agree on what is to be passed over to the center and what is to be retained by the republics, then each republic produces a Constitution of its own, and that is all. [passage omitted]

Nikolay Ryzhkov delivered an excellent report. We all agree with that he aimed at. Everything in his report is correct, but personally I do not believe that everything the government intends or plans can be fulfilled with the assistance of the old ministries and those people who have brought us to this social catastrophe. That is why I am dissatisfied and that is why I voted against it. [passage omitted] What is needed immediately is the dismantling of the command-administrative system. [passage omitted]

We must do away with the practice in which our republic works so hard, but in the end 95 percent of its output is taken by the center and only 5 percent remains here. [end recording]

Political and Social

Ryzhkov Interviewed on Economic Program

PM2812205089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Dec 89 First Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with USSR Council of Ministers Chairman N.I. Ryzhkov by V. Parfenov for PRAVDA editorial office: "Essence of the Concept"—date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] During the work of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the PRAVDA editorial office asked N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to comment on the government program "On Economic Recovery Measures, Stages of Economic Reform, and Fundamental Approaches to Formulation of 13th 5-Year Plan," which was supported by the congress. The editorial office asked him to assess the heated and contradictory debate on fundamental questions of the theory and practice of transformations of social production and the national economy's emergence from the present complex situation and to outline practical steps in the implementation of this program. The editorial office publishes this interview today.

[Parfenov] Nikolay Ivanovich, a number of people's deputies expressed the view that the government economic program goes far beyond the bounds of a purely economic problem in terms of its importance. How do you assess the political significance of this problem and why should it become, as some deputies stated in their speeches, the program of the whole people?

[Ryzhkov] Indeed, the discussion of the program showed that it contains a political substance capable of rallying all society's forces to resolve the economic tasks of the renewal of socialism. Figuratively speaking, after receiving the support of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the program adds substantially to everything that forms the economic basis of the policy of perestroyka.

Let me remind you that economic reform is organically connected with the transformation of the political system and the creation of a rule-of-law state. These are key areas of work for perestroyka as a whole.

The economic policy concept and each specific measure are related first and foremost to man's interests and needs. Here the goal is a new, higher quality of life and the creation of the economic foundations of a humane, democratic socialist society.

The methods of achieving the goals set are also fundamentally new. They are marked by democratism and the switch from a rigorously centralized, statist economy to a multiplicity of forms of socialist ownership and economic methods of management. That means moving toward a truly democratic and self-managing social organism and an improved model of socialism.

Here I would particularly like to note how difficult it is to overcome dogmatic barriers in the path of living economic practice and to break down obsolete ideological prejudices. The new political thinking is no less necessary, and perhaps even more necessary, in the economy than in other spheres of social life.

The government-proposed program covers a period of 6 years. In those years, enormous efforts must be made to ensure significant progress in the economy and in the people's social life.

It must be said frankly that the problem is so serious and the scope of our actions is such that the ministerial cabinet cannot cope with all this alone, without the participation of every member of society. Only a businesslike, constructive mood, the consolidation of efforts, carefully considered operational tactics in the conditions of the present moment, and a reliable strategy for the long term will ensure success.

[Parfenov] How do you assess the congress debate that took place over the government program, not from the viewpoint of the USSR Council of Ministers chairman, but from the standpoint of one of its authors?

[Ryzhkov] Before I talk about the debate that took place at the congress, a few words about how we worked on the program. I must say that the government aktiv includes many really progressive, deep-thinking, intelligent people, not only scientists, but also specialists and practitioners in the production sphere. The range of people involved is constantly widening and changing, depending on the tasks that have to be tackled in the course of drafting major documents. During the work on the program, it was very important again and again to assess the potential of everyone who could participate. This was dictated by the fact that it was basically the first time we had prepared such a draft. It had to differ radically from the traditional directives, basic guidelines for the development of the national economy, and 5-year plans. Hence, the demands on people—boldness of opinion, intelligent radicalism, diversity of knowledge, mastery of the methods of scientific analysis, knowledge of international experience, and much more besides. Ultimately, we were able to form several creative working groups and to draw on large forces—leading scientists and specialists and representatives of the union republics, ministries, departments, and social organizations.

There is therefore every reason to say that the program is the fruit of collective creativity, although in general it is naturally the country's government that is responsible for it. Virtually from the first day of the work on formulating the program, I was directly involved in this work. Therefore, my signature on the document is both my responsibility as head of state and a confirmation of my participation in its formulation. From this viewpoint, I reject all accusations regarding the anonymity of the government program. Everything that is set forth in it represents my convictions and my vision of the ways to economic recovery.

Now to the debate at the Congress: In general, I assess it very highly. It offered much that is useful for future work on resolving the tasks facing the country. Specific observations and proposals substantially strengthened our confidence in the correctness of the proposed measures. They will all be taken into account by the government to the maximum possible extent in the course of the practical implementation of urgent economic recovery measures, as well as in the drafting of the 5-year plan for 1991-1995.

[Parfenov] What were your feelings during the 7-day debate, during which at one moment the correctness of the chosen course was reaffirmed, while at the next the prospect of the government's resignation emerged?

[Ryzhkov] I cannot say that I didn't suffer as I listened to deputies' speeches. After all, to use parliamentary language, which we are still just learning, any debate on a government program is ultimately tantamount to a vote of confidence or no-confidence in it. A government can work effectively only with a full mandate and clearly expressed support. Probably the most tense point for me was the moment before the vote, when sentiments in favor of a decision imposing no obligations became perceptible among a section of the deputies. So I took the floor and deliberately highlighted the issue: The congress should not evade an assessment of the government program but express its firm position without vague formulas such as "take cognizance of."

Of course, I very carefully followed everything that was said and how it was said and took into account the audience's reaction. I was also interested in the attitude toward the debate on the government program both in our country and abroad. The assessments were most diverse and sometimes diametrically opposed. It is a pity that emotion often took the place of thoughtful analysis in them. Although I must note that both here and over there the reaction to the program became increasingly considered in the course of its discussion. However, I would firmly say that all this did not shake our confidence in the correctness of the chosen line of solving the most acute socioeconomic problems.

[Parfenov] You might conclude from the speeches of some deputies that they do not share the government's viewpoint regarding the need to transfer union republics and regions to the principles of self-financing and self-management. How is this to be explained?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, disagreement with these government proposals is sometimes voiced both here in the center and at local level. Many of our opponents espouse conservative stances and see no need for a cardinal change in obsolete methods of managing regional development. Others, as is evident from the remarks at the congress and also in the press, fear the isolation of individual republics.

The proposals of the opponents of the government line on this issue show that, aside from calls for a return to the former management system, they essentially contain nothing constructive by way of a counterweight to the government program. However, it has long been known that you cannot ride into the future in the carriage of the past.

The union republics' economic and social difficulties are a grim reality. New approaches are needed to solve the pressing problems here, approaches whose essence lies in expanding their rights in managing the economy and the social sphere. It must be borne in mind, however, that the conditions in which they are starting out on this differ. There is a difference of around a factor of two between individual republics with regard to labor productivity, and consequently per capita indicators for the population's consumption of goods and services differ within approximately the same margins.

I want to stress that self-financing and self-management on the part of union republics and oblasts are needed precisely to intensify their interest in boosting the economy, to give them an opportunity to make better use of their production potential, to more fully satisfy the population's needs via their own resources, and to strengthen their budgets' sources of revenue. It is to this end that leadership of agriculture, the light and food industries, construction, trade and the services sphere, and some of machine building has been transferred to them.

The formation of an economic mechanism for the management of regional development is a new and difficult venture, of course. But, I think that the correct path has been chosen. Making an objective and considered assessment, this path meets the interests of the country as a whole and of each of the peoples inhabiting it.

[Parfenov] In its program the government promises unprecedented growth in consumer goods production and firmly states that "there will be" an increase in production of them in 1990. What must be done to ensure that this "there will be" becomes a reality?

[Ryzhkov] The government program—and now that it has been supported by the Congress of People's Deputies it must also become the program of the whole people—does not contain promises and declarations but constitutes an integral system for the phased implementation of specific measures to promote an improvement in the health of the country's economy and its lifting to a qualitatively new level.

The key direction here is the resolute buildup of consumer goods production and services to the population. Indeed, unprecedented volumes of increase in consumer goods production are to be achieved in 1990—R66 billion as against the average annual increase of R17 billion over the last 4 years of the current 5-year plan.

The government is firmly confident of the feasibility of attaining this volume of production. Why? The state order for the first time provides for the material and technical resources for the production of goods and commissioning of capacities, and the products list of the state order for the production of consumer goods has been substantially expanded. Conditions have been elaborated ensuring the economic interest and responsibility of all management and production components with regard to the adoption and fulfillment of state orders and stepped-up contractual commitments and the rational use of material resources for the specified purpose.

The results of the wholesale fairs that have been held testify that contracts for the delivery to the market in 1990 of approximately R45 billion more goods than the 1989 level have already been concluded. In the whole of 1989, the increase in deliveries of industrial goods to the trade network was R20 billion.

At the same time, the successful buildup of consumer goods production necessitates persistent and daily organizational and economic work by soviet, economic, and trade union organs in enterprise collectives and in union republics. For the plans to be realized, all working people must accept the program as their own vital concern. After all, the improvement of their prosperity depends on its successful fulfillment. Journalists too can make a considerable contribution in this sphere. Let our PRAVDA lead the way.

[Parfenov] To make the situation regarding the provision of foodstuffs to the population less acute, the program states, it is essential to bring the output of food commodities up to R205-210 billion per annum, or to increase it by approximately one-third. Certain deputies have spoken out to the effect that such high rates of increase in food production could prove to be beyond the capabilities of many regions. How is the feasibility of the government's program substantiated?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, the growth rates for food resources that are envisaged are considerably greater than in recent years. At the same time, we regard them as the minimum. Such rates are essential. Only in that case will it be possible to normalize the market in foodstuffs where, in recent years, the situation has been growing increasingly exacerbated.

Of the broad range of measures, I would single out two main conditions for the feasibility of implementing the program.

The first is the acceleration of the modernization of the processing sectors, the assimilation of modern processing techniques, and the increase of the output of high-quality food products through this. In 1990 the enterprises of the defense complex alone are to increase the output of equipment for the food sectors by 37%. In so doing, they are to treat very seriously the complaints which the countryside is justifiably leveling against them right now. Over the forthcoming 5-year-plan period deliveries of such equipment are to increase 2.5 times overall.

The second is that the sufficiency of food is directly linked with real changes in agriculture and with the improvement of production relations and forms of economic management. Both in the center and especially at local level it is essential to persistently pursue the line of creating economic conditions conducive to efficient work by collective farms [kolkhoz] and state farms [sovkhoz], agroindustrial combines and agrofirms, cooperative associations, and peasant farms. It is important that they should all have equal opportunities to build up production so that this process may develop on the basis of competition and healthy rivalry between them.

It is to be especially stressed that the program outlined for improving food supply is a task for the entire state. And it is to be resolved by the combined efforts both of rural workers and of workers of all sectors of industry and transport, the procurement sphere, and trade.

[Parfenov] A sharp reaction was generated both among people's deputies and also in the mass media by the speech by G.Kh. Popov, who accused the government of regarding the 13th 5-Year Plan in its report in the same spirit as the measures of all the preceding 5-year plans. What can you say on this score?

[Ryzhkov] I have already observed at the congress that certain deputies have, in their speeches, made demands vis-a-vis the government report that can be applied only to the 5-year plan, whereas the plan itself so far does not exist and has still to be drawn up. If this well known scholar has not perceived the difference in methodological approaches to the formation of the 13th 5-Year Plan in comparison with all the previous plans, then that lies on his conscience both as an economist and as a people's deputy speaking from the congress rostrum.

Of course, Gavriil Kharitonovich has decided to view the methodology of the 5-year plan from the angle of chicken eggs per head of the population. Well then, that is his right, that's his view as a scholar and economist. But this view has not enabled him to perceive the fundamentally new approaches to the 5-year plan in the government's program.

Wherein lies its main essence? Above all, in shaping the 13th 5-Year Plan, it is proposed to consider as a matter of paramount importance the social reorientation of the economy and the gearing of the plan to the needs and aspirations of the Soviet person. In determining the prospects for the development of the national economy we have, perhaps for the first time, proceeded from how man's material and spiritual needs can actually be satisfied in 1995. It is precisely to this chief objective that the 13th 5-Year Plan will be subordinated and the basic proportions of the plan, the structural changes, investment and scientific-technical policy, and the mechanism for the realization of specific tasks must be oriented to attaining this goal.

Many figures for 1995 cited in the government report are the result of mathematic-economic calculations based on social normatives. These figures are by no means of a directive nature but merely reflect those points of reference at which it is necessary to arrive by the end of the 5-year plan. We are cognizant of the fact that they can only be achieved on the basis of a real increase in the efficiency and volumes of social production.

The fundamental changes in the very approach, not to mention practical work in the shaping of the 5-year plan, are dictated by the new conditions associated with the radical changes in the mutual relations between the center and the republics, by the development of multifarious forms of ownership, by the implementation of financial and credit reforms, by the restructuring of price formation, and by the establishment of the socialist market.

Such is the position of the government on this score, if one is to evaluate it impartially.

[Parfenov] In the quest for alternative solutions for the emergence of the economy from the present complex situation, the USSR Government entered into direct dialogue with representatives of informal movements which carry a certain weight in their respective regions. Could you tell us how this was effected in practice?

[Ryzhkov] Taking account of the increased political activeness of the working people and the intensive emergence of informal movements, the government entered into direct contacts with their representatives when preparing the program of measures for the economy's recovery. This was done for a number of reasons, primarily because many of these movements over an extremely brief period have become transformed literally before our very eyes. Not only their slogan-like "revolutionary" names have changed but they themselves also have changed and above all their programs, their thrust, and the content of their activity. That includes the sphere of the economy.

Furthermore, a study of the programs of certain informal "economic" associations has shown that they contain much that is rational and constructive. Thus, in a number of regions of the country, informal associations have reacted very sharply and quite rightfully to the shortcomings that exist and to pressing social, ecological, and other problems and have sought and found non-standard ways and methods of solving them. Moreover, their actions and specific proposals in many cases have been distinguished from the patently hidebound and at times passive stance of local organs and public organizations.

And finally, we have perceived many sensible and extremely timely proposals in the broad spectrum of ideas and opinions of the informals, including ultraradical informals, and it would be a mistake to disdain these.

Taking this into account, skilled specialists of the economic departments on instructions from the government in early October traveled out to virtually all union republics and to many major industrial centers. Certain of the informals' proposals which basically coincided with the measures being formulated by the government were included in the program, while others were declined.

I want to emphasize that the government intends to continue to maintain close liaison with the public, to take into account the interests of the most diverse social strata and groups of the population, and to establish cooperation and working contacts with progressive informal movements.

[Parfenov] A sharp reaction was generated at the congress by the speeches of agrarian deputies about the social transformations of the countryside and the improvement of the working and everyday conditions of rural workers. What does the government intend to do to accelerate the development of the social sphere in the countryside?

[Ryzhkov] I believe that the social restructuring of the countryside is a central issue of agrarian policy. There have been many critical comments precisely on this problem. Certain deputies both in the corridors and in their speeches from the rostrum have even, as the saying goes, gotten personal. We have been accused of underestimating the needs of the countryside. The impression has formed that some people are trying to set the government at loggerheads with the peasantry on this basis. Let me say frankly that this has generated bitter feelings.

I am profoundly convinced and, perhaps, even more than anyone else, that without a cardinal solution to the social problems of the countryside our plans will not prove feasible. Herein lies the key to all the prospects of life in the countryside. This especially applies to the building of well appointed dwellings, roads, the provision of the countryside with electricity and gas, the improvement of medical, consumer, and trade services, the changing of the situation of the rural school, and the development of culture's material base.

What have we achieved and what are we planning to do in this sphere? As early as 1990, some R19 billion are to be spent on the construction of social projects. It is planned to commission more than 50 million square meters of housing in the countryside funded from all finance sources, or almost 35% of the total amount of housing commissioned in the country. Particular attention will be paid to this question during the drafting of the 5-year plan.

Work on the construction of roads is getting under way. The acute nature of this problem is common knowledge, especially as regards the Non-Chernozem Zone. This is why R8.7 billion will be assimilated there in the current 5-year plan. A total of R35 billion is to be spent on this program. Work to provide gas supply in the countryside is to be undertaken on a large scale.

All this was dealt with in detail in the report. But I would like to confirm once again that a tremendous amount of work is to be carried out in the countryside. Rural life must be attractive and full-blooded, worthy of the standard which rural workers deserve.

[Parfenov] According to certain people's deputies, not enough attention was paid to culture in your report. Does this reflect the attitude of the government or is it the result of some other considerations?

[Ryzhkov] This is an important question, especially since during the confirmation of the government at the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies I promised to attend more actively to all questions concerning culture and public education. I can assure readers that I am trying to fullfill my promise consistently and not just formally. I am glad that this work has brought me together with many remarkable people in the country, true pioneers and exponents of the best features of the nation's spirit and intellect. I have taken to heart and accepted as my own conviction Dmitriy Sergeyevich Likhachev's idea of culture as the basis of society's moral strength without which neither social nor economic laws can function.

I would like this idea to be accepted as one of the bases of the government's action program for many years to come, as a global and historically important objective—gearing our entire social development to humanist concerns and the interests of the individual.

The problems of culture, public education, and upbringing have not acquired their painful urgency either suddenly or by accident. For decades attempts to resolve them were confined mainly to administrative methods. This is why, with the exacerbation of the crisis phenomena in the economy, the so-called "residual principle" prevailed in culture. It can be overcome by various methods. One of them is to substantially increase budget appropriations, which is already planned for 1990 and in the outlines for the 13th 5-Year Plan.

During the country's switch to the new conditions of management, we aim to boost state protection against the threat of the commercialization of the people's spiritual life, against the mechanical projection of the laws of the market onto the creative sphere, with all its negative consequences. I am confident that, in step with our economic recovery, state support in the sphere of culture and public education will become more extensive and weighty.

Truths which have unfortunately been forgotten must be revived in our consciousness: Throughout the world, public and individual contributions to culture and education and good works are regarded as an extraordinarily noble cause. The labor of creative workers, educators, and enlightenment workers deserves to be worthily rewarded in economic and moral terms, and they must enjoy reliable social protection. Let me note that the government is, as from next year, embarking on the implementation of a program to raise the wages of cultural workers. However, painstaking legislative work lies ahead above all in the sphere of taxation policy to stimulate contributions to good works on the part of enterprises and social organizations.

[Parfenov] With regard to the rapidly changing situation in the socialist world and also the upcoming Council for Mutual Economic Assistance [CEMA] session, I would like to ask you, Nikolay Ivanovich, to dwell, albeit briefly, on the key features of the USSR's stance on the fundamental questions of economic relations with these countries.

[Ryzhkov] Fundamentally, the Soviet Union's stance on relations with CEMA countries remains unchanged. We favor the large-scale development of mutually advantageous cooperation, the all-around deepening of socialist economic integration, and the consistent formation of a united CEMA countries market. These coutries will continue to occupy an important place in the Soviet Union's foreign economic ties. Suffice it to say that they account for approximately 60% of our country's foreign trade turnover.

At the same time, now that the USSR and many CEMA countries are taking major steps to create an efficiently functioning market in their countries, the present mechanism of economic cooperation is acting as an impediment to progressive reforms. It is quite obvious that it is not conducive to the development of technical progress and the enhancement of the quality and technical standard of the goods which they supply to each other. The use of prices and currencies which are divorced from the world market leads to isolation and does not make it possible actively and on a large scale to participate in world economic ties.

We must now restructure our mutual cooperation, synchronize it with the enhanced dynamism of the processes of internal reforms, accelerate progress toward the convertibility of national currencies, restructure the structure of commodity flows, and introduce modern forms of cooperation.

In our opinion, these questions should be discussed at the upcoming CEMA session. We will propose a switch to current world prices and settling accounts in freely convertible currency in our mutual trade as from 1991. Otherwise, it is impossible to coordinate the mechanism of cooperation with the economic reforms currently being implemented in CEMA countries. It is impossible to retain different instruments of trade—one set of instruments for ties with companies in capitalist countries, and another set for ties with enterprises in CEMA countries.

Unquestionably, this will not be an easy approach to implement. Not all CEMA countries are ready for it. Some sort of stages and intermediate solutions will have to be found.

Talks with the leaders of most European CEMA countries have shown that the aforementioned fundamental approaches are, on the whole, meeting with understanding and support. Work on their implementation has already begun. We believe that it must be developed in 1990 with a view to giving new content to the process of socialist economic integration. We are interested in accelerating the inclusion of our economic community in world economic ties.

[Parfenov] It is common knowledge that the conversion of the military-industrial complex aims to increase the output of consumer goods. Is there a clear conversion program and what kind of sums is it planned to spend on these tasks?

[Ryzhkov] A draft State Conversion Program has been drawn up. It covers the period through 1995. This draft is to be discussed in detail in the near future in the USSR Council of Ministers.

The conversion will affect more than 420 enterprises in the defense industry. The depth of its impact will range between 5 and 100%, depending on the enterprise in question. In 1990 alone, more than 500,000 people engaged in this sphere are to transfer to the output of civilian products and consumer goods.

[Parfenov] So far, more coverage has been given to the question of what the conversion program must give to the national economy. But what kind of funds and resources will be needed to realize this program?

[Ryzhkov] At present we can say that we will have to invest something in the region of R9 billion in capital investments in the reconfiguration of existing production facilities in the defense complex.

The conversion will also entail economic outlays connected with the change in output volumes, the slowing of growth in profit, and the deterioration in a number of other economic indicators of enterprises undergoing conversion. Consequently, in 1990 alone no less than R350 million will be needed for these purposes.

As a whole, I would say that the draft State Conversion Program is a major, comprehensive document whose implementation will not only affect enterprises in the defense complex. A great deal of work is going to have to be done by USSR ministries and departments, the union republics, and local bodies to concretize to the maximum and effectively utilize the potential of conversion for improving the people's well-being. In our view, USSR Supreme Soviet committees and commissions must play an active role in this task.

[Parfenov] Some letters to PRAVDA have pointed out—and, indeed, some people's deputies at the congress also remarked on this—that after the adoption of the USSR Law "On Ownership in the USSR," representatives of the "black" economy will buy up enterprises and could become the bosses in our country. What is your view?

[Ryzhkov] I think that stating the issue in this way is excessively emotional and more the consequence of reaction to certain statements in the press on the revival of private ownership in our country than to the published draft USSR Law "On Ownership in the USSR."

Let us suppose that this law were to come into force in the form in which it has been submitted for nationwide discussion. Could large state enterprises really become the property of individual citizens under the terms of this law? No. The concept of private ownership based on exploitation is absent from the draft law.

What is more, the most important state enterprises, on which the steady functioning of the whole national economy depends, not only will not be liable to private ownership, they will not even be liable to collective ownership—on a leasehold basis, for example. I believe that this provision will apply to enterprises in the fuel and energy complex, communications, maritime and railroad transportation, the defense industry, and a number of other sectors of major national economic significance.

With regard to private ownership, including ownership of means of production for individual labor activity, it could be of some considerable assistance to our economy. Its development must bring positive changes in those spheres where large enterprises are ineffectual. Of course, there is a real danger that some individuals possessing and concealing dishonestly acquired income, including income generated through the "black" economy," will attempt legalization. To prevent this from happening we must create the appropriate legal and economic mechanisms, as envisaged by the government program.

What do I have in mind here? First and foremost, the introduction of a unified taxation system and the transition to progressive taxation of the population's income on the basis of declarations. This procedure will solve two problems at once. First, it establishes the need to declare sources of income. Second, it rules out the possibility of excessive differentation in income. For this procedure to be effective, we must create and organize the work of a special service that is new to us: a tax inspection service. In line with the decision of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, a government resolution has been adopted on this question and the formation of this inspection service is to be completed in the first half of 1990.

Law-enforcement bodies must also step up their work to combat organized crime in the economy. The USSR Council of Ministers will take the toughest possible stand in this respect.

I am confident that these measures must, on the one hand, create a sound basis for the development of different forms of ownership and, on the other, rule out the possibility of the "black" economy being able to function.

[Parfenov] In recent weeks rumors of possible increases in the price of construction materials and passenger vehicles have been given a high profile. What can you say in this connection?

[Ryzhkov] There is only one means of countering rumors: glasnost.

The whole country has been able to watch and listen to broadcasts from the fall session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which devoted a great deal of attention to the problem of retail prices and the system of social protection for citizens with fixed incomes, including discussion of the question of retail prices for tobacco products, beer, and fish delicacies. The government is not making any secret of the need to reform retail prices in the 13th 5-Year Plan and has included this question in the report submitted to congress. The sequence and timescale for conducting this reform will be decided on the basis of the results of the nationwide discussion of this acute sociopolitical problem in 1990.

Briefly, on the prices of the goods mentioned in your question. The government feels any increase in the price of construction materials would be intolerable and is counting on the same stand being taken by republic bodies which set the retail prices for some types of construction materials—not because there are no distortions in the prices of these materials and they need to be corrected, but primarily because we have adopted a policy to create favorable conditions for Soviet people to engage in individual construction.

Now about retail prices for passenger vehicles: The opinion of the government is that the prices of vehicles in mass demand must remain as they are now. The prices of new models of vehicles which are to go into series production must correspond to their growing consumer qualities. I should mention the growing practice of selling vehicles by auction. In the new year, for example, it is planned to sell by auction a considerable proportion of the market stock of "Volga" cars.

[Parfenov] What conclusions can the government draw from criticism voiced at the congress that the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium are being slow to restructure their work in drawing up priority state programs and are not highly aware of their significance for speeding up scientific and technical progress?

[Ryzhkov] You have touched on an important issue. The government repeatedly has discussed the main aspects of work on these programs with the participation of leading scientists and specialists representing the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the USSR State Planning Committee. In the end, a list of 14 state science and technology programs was approved from a large number of proposals. They aim both to create fundamentally new types of equipment, technology, and materials—programs for high-temperature superconductivity and the very latest biological engineering methods—and to resolve vitally important social issues—programs to combat the most widespread diseases and to create high-efficiency manufacturing processes.

The drafting of these programs is now nearing completion, and competitions are being held for specific projects in each of them. From 10,000 proposals, more than 800 projects have been chosen and their leaders appointed. The greatest progress in this respect has been made by the "Materials of the Future" program, drawn up by a collective of scientists and engineers under the leadership of Academician B.Ye. Paton.

In view of the particular relevance of these programs, the most important targets for their implementation have been included in the state order for 1990.

Of course, there are serious shortcomings in the work of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, which are the result of the weak pace of the perestroyka of scientific activity.

One must work on the basis that the ways and means of perestroyka in science are no different from those of perestroyka in society. They are, first and foremost: democratization and the elimination of excessive administration and monopolism. The success of the cause is determined by independence and competition, a well-honed system of expert consultation, and close collaboration with the scientific community.

The destruction of monopolism in science must also be served by the policy of renewing cadres, introducing a contract form of labor organization, selecting young, talented people for scientific fields, and creating the kind of conditions for them under which research and development carried out at the level of world ideas will be encouraged much more than it is at present.

[Parfenov] And so, the program has been supported by the Congress of People's Deputies. What do you now see as the first steps in its practical implementation? With what actions do you mean to start 1990, which, judging by your report, will be a key year for many of the processes of economic recovery?

[Ryzhkov] The day before yesterday, 27 December, there was an enlarged session of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium. The question of implementing the decisions of the Second Congress of USSR People's deputies was examined at it. The discussion was sharp, principled, and businesslike. The whole course of the discussion was conditioned by the fact that the government had received the support of the congress, of its own program. This is a high degree of trust, and it must build all its work from the first days of 1990 on the basis of these positions.

The main thing is to fulfill the 1990 targets. They are so significant and on such a large scale that there can be no vacillation. From the first days of the year a precise tempo must be established for work in all sectors. It is planned to enhance enterprises' responsibility for accepting and fulfilling state orders, and union republics' responsibility for deliveries to all-union stocks of agricultural output. The necessary decisions are now being prepared.

In the new year, the legal bases of the new economic system, the laws on the USSR State Bank, the banking system in the USSR, and investments, the antimonopoly legislation, and other laws will have to be formulated in accordance with the resolution of the Second Congress of People's Deputies. The governement intends to adopt in the near future a concrete program for the preparation of the above-mentioned bills, in order to submit them to the USSR Supreme Soviet in the first half of 1990. Preparation for the transition in the next 5-year period to new wholesale and purchase prices must be started at the beginning of next year.

And finally, I would regard questions connected with the formation of the draft 13th 5-Year Plan as priority measures. As early as January, we must definitively clarify our position on all the methodological problems and get the necessary materials to the enterprises so that they can start forming the plan from below.

Such in brief are the priority tasks that the government must resolve in the near future.

[Parfenov] And the last question I will put to you, Nikolay Ivanovich, concerns cooperation between journalists and the government. At this time, a difficult time for our motherland, in what way could and should the organs of the mass media, and particularly PRAVDA journalists, help in the realization of the government's program?

[Ryzhkov] The question is a topical one. The press, television, and radio can and must do a great deal to ensure that the economic recovery program becomes the vital concern of millions of Soviet people. Please show, as regularly as possible, what is new in the theory of perestroyka, the best management experience, and the way in which the radical reform is becoming more profound; boldly expose everything that hinders the development of the life-giving processes in society. Let the genuine innovators of perestroyka "stand tall" on the pages of our newspapers. And it is still very imortant to fight actively for the strengthening of discipline, organization, and responsibility in the spheres both of management and production. I believe that on these issues PRAVDA journalists will be in the vanguard of perestroyka.

Yeltsin Reported Ready To Run for RSFSR President

LD2812175289 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] The Moscow-based independent news agency INTERFAKS has said Boris Yeltsin is ready to run for the post of president of the Russian Federation. At present he is chairman of the parliamentary Committee for Construction and Architecture.

The invitation to run for the presidency in the largest Soviet republic came to Yeltsin from electors in the towns of (?Ramenti) and Zelenograd near Moscow. Under the Republic's constitution, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation must be elected at a republican congress of peoples' deputies, which is the supreme legislative body due to be elected for the first time ever on 4 March next year.

Latvian Supreme Soviet Session Continues in Riga

Gorbunov Comments

LD2812221689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Dec 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by A. Kasyanova in Riga, including remarks by A.V. Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium—recorded]

[Text] A session of the Lavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet continued in Riga today.

[Kasyanova] Heated debates have continued in Riga for 2 days. More than 30 draft laws and documents of vital significance for the republic were considered and discussed by deputies at the 14th session of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation. [Kasyanova seen interviewing Gorbunov]

[Gorbunov] Every session represents the most difficult steps toward the democratization of our society and toward the real transfer of power to the soviets. These steps of course come with great difficulty. This was demonstrated by our session, in its examination of specific issues.

Probably the principal issue examined is the question of local self-government. We are examining the rights of national groups, we are examining this in the first reading, because we consider this to be a very important matter. It must be considered unhurriedly and with real regard for the views of the multinational public in our republic. Naturally, there are also other issues very closely linked with what I said earlier—the process of deepening democratization, and the first steps toward the real exercise of power by the soviets.

[Kasyanova] The session today is discussing a law, a Latvian SSR draft law, on changes to Articles 6, 7 and 49 of the Constitution. Article 49 contains the following: Parties and other public organizations are guaranteed the conditions by the state for the successful performance of the tasks laid down in their program and rules. However, all parties have their programs, and frequently these programs are mutually exclusive. What will happen then?

[Gorbunov] You have to specify what programs and what means they consider it possible to employ, or what means they determine, to carry out these programs. This must be agreed without fail. The second point is that our Constitution today does not stand in the way of the process of the creation of parties. The very process of the creation of parties, however, must be regulated in clear-cut terms, and it must be subject to the law and the Constitution.

[Kasyanova] [video shows Supreme Soviet proceedings] The agenda for the session includes the question of changing Article 6 of the republican consitution and the reinstatement of the old Latvian national anthem, coat-of-arms and flag. USSR people's deputies have proposed that the law on constitutional supervision in the USSR be tabled for endorsement by the session. Many of the issues were discussed by deputies only at the first reading. The 14th session of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation will continue its proceedings in January.

Future of Latvian Communist Party Discussed

90UN0535A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 7 Dec 89 pp 1, 4

[LATINFORM correspondent report: "To Discuss or Condemn? What Is More Useful?"]

[Text] A heated atmosphere had developed on 6 December at a meeting of Riga communist aktiv. A keen and, at times, too sharp a discussion of today's role and status within the framework of the republic and the CPSU and the future fate of the Latvian Communist Party was under way here. The immediate reason for the meeting, to which leaders of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and representatives of the People's and International fronts had been invited, was the recent appeal to Latvia's communists adopted by a group of members of the republic Communist Party Central Committee and the leaders of rayon party organizations and a number of research and artistic establishments.

In this document, which was issued on 28 November, its authors called on the communists to discuss and support their proposals. Well, discussion at the activ meeting there was, but support, on the part of the majority, in any event, was not forthcoming. Rather the reverse. There was condemnation.

The discussion was lent a critical tone by A.P. Klautsen, first secretary of the Riga Gorkom [city party committee], who delivered the report. Describing the response to the appeal, he compared it to an explosion. It was observed that a whole number of primary party organizations had declared their disagreement with the authors of the document, which, in their opinion, is a call for the division of the CPSU and an attempt to liquidate the Latvian Communist Party and organize a new party having nothing in common with the Communist Party. The speaker also reported that the resolutions of the meetings of the "primaries" expressed lack of confidence in the leadership of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and posed the question of the incompatibility of membership of the CPSU and the communists' participation in the social and political formations and other parties, factions, platforms and parallel anti-party structures. However, there were also many communists who supported the appeal, seeing it as a call for renewal of the party and constructive debate aimed at bringing the status and role of the party into line with the state sovereignty of the republic proclaimed by the session of the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet and the economic independence of the Baltic republics, the law on which was recently enacted by a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The speaker observed that it was difficult not to agree with a number of conclusions of the appeal. It expressed concern at the state of affairs in the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. Fair also were the critical observations to the effect that the processes of democratization in the party were not occurring quickly enough and that preparations for the republic and all-union party congresses were not really getting under way.

However, all these problems were analyzed and evaluated by members of the Central Committee at the time of formulation of the Latvian Communist Party Action Program adopted this August. The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, like the majority of Latvia's communists, continues to regard this program as a sound basis for the consolidation of society, as a basis for discussion of the paths of the party's development, its restructuring, the further democratization of intra-party life and preparation for the upcoming party congress. Proceeding, specifically, from this fact, the speaker expressed the opinion that even considering the slowness in getting the Latvian Communist Party Action Program under way, it was hardly necessary to create a fundamentally new document.

A particularly turbulent response was evoked by a number of new forms of wording which were proposed in the appeal and which are meeting with the conclusion that what is proposed is not an updated but entirely new political and ideological platform. An endeavor to abandon the goal of the creation of a communist society, which is the basis of Marxism-Leninism, can be seen distinctly in the document. In this connection the speaker recalled the article carried in RIGAS BALSS of Valdis Bluzma—an associate of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Party History Institute, whose staff took an active part in formulation of the document. The publication says that the question of the party's name should be on the agenda and that it could, possibly, be called a socialist party.

Justifying their position, the supporters of the appeal maintain that this is not a call for division, but discussion. But the Latvian Communist Party Action Program means discussion within the framework of the CPSU. As A.P. Klautsen emphasized, the Riga Gorkom Bureau believes that it is still possible today to overcome the trend toward division and demarcation. A strong, purposive party center, which should, evidently, be a topic of discussion at the upcoming Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum, is primarily needed for this.

In the discussion of the report, which lasted more than 4 hours, both the opponents of the appeal, which were the majority at the meeting, and its supporters seriously criticized the leading authorities of the republic Communist Party. A number of speeches observed that the Central Committee Bureau, the Central Committee, and its machinery were largely responsible for the situation whereby the Communist Party was, as before, lagging behind the development of social and political events, having ceded leadership to the NFL [Latvian People's Front] and other radical movements. This, specifically, is the thinking of V.V. Ozolinsh, first secretary of the Moskovskiy Raykom [rayon party committee], who signed the appeal. He called the attention of the participants in the meeting to the fact that, owing to the party's loss of authority, difficulties when it came to selecting specialists for its machinery, despite the increased wages even, had arisen. Not only those whom it had become customary to call "ballast", but also practical, serious people had begun to leave the party. Assertions concerning the expediency of the resignation of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau as presently constituted were also heard from the platform of the party aktiv meeting.

It has to be mentioned also that many speeches suffered from the old "ailments" of bias, pigeon-holing, constant repetition of pretentious platitudes, the extreme peremptoriness of opinions and a brusqueness of tone reaching at times the point of outright rudeness. One also had the impression that a considerable number of speakers is not yet making the distinction between a speech at a mass meeting and a speech at a practical and extremely crucial gathering. Whence the loquacity and absence in the majority of constructive proposals.

Among the exponents of literate, politically balanced speeches we may name O.R. Latsis, first deputy chief editor of the CPSU Central Committee journal KOMMUNIST, who knows the value of intelligent compromise. Having made a positive evaluation of the statement part of the appeal, which is not, as a whole, at variance with the conclusions of the 19th party conference, he considered unacceptable, however, certain inordinately radical paths of renovation proposed by the authors of the document. Without analyzing all the positions of the appeal with which he disagreed, O.R. Latsis expressed cogent propositions concerning the unacceptability of the Latvian Communist Party's separation from the CPSU, noting, inter alia, that this would be "stabbing Gorbachev in the back."

O.R. Latsis was really thoughtful and convincing in his analysis of the appeal, although he had made no special preparations for this. That is, he discussed it, and did not unequivocally condemn it, as many other participants in the aktiv meeting preferred to do. The latter is simpler, of course, but is it of greater benefit to a stabilization of the social and political situation in the republic?

Ya.Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, who addressed the aktiv meeting, said:

"New, complex aspects have indeed emerged in the republic's social and political life of late. They are determined not only by the proximity of the elections to the local organs of state power, but also the processes of restructuring in the party, which have intensified since the CPSU Central Committee September (1989) Plenum.

"A difficult period of search for new forms and methods of work and a new status and place in society confronts the Latvian Communist Party also—in accordance with our action program. It is already moving ahead at full steam. This is indicated not only by the many appeals and resolutions of the communists carried in the press but also the discussion at today's meeting of Riga's communist aktiv.

"I also had an opportunity on television yesterday to express my viewpoint on the questions which are at the center of all debate in the republic. Of course, my views have not changed in 24 hours. Without going into them in greater detail, I would like merely to recall the basic propositions which, in my view and in the opinion of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, the republic's communists should be making the basis of all work pertaining to preparations for the 25th Latvian Communist Party Congress.

"I believe we have no doubt that radical changes in the party are urgent and that this is an important condition of an intensification of perestroyka as a whole.

"Accomplishing urgent political and economic changes in the interests of the whole Latvian people are barely possible without radical democratic reform of the Latvian Communist Party. However, we truly see many elements of political pressure, confrontation and accusations around the needed discussion of the status of the Latvian Communist Party.

"This is intolerable not only because it is contrary to the very spirit of perestroyka, democratization and glasnost in party life but also because it is diverting us and leading us up a blind alley even, away from the formulation of the necessary decisions which we have to bring to the 25th congress.

"Meanwhile, unfortunately, arguments of prohibition and political pigeon-holing, and not the strength of the arguments and their practical discussion, are preponderant. I believe that it is this atmosphere in our party home which is currently contributing to the trends of division and the confrontation of communists of different areas and organizations. We must in the name of perestroyka and in the name of the Latvian Communist Party come to our senses and stop.

"The fate of the republic and the Latvian Communist Party will be decided in strenous work on realization of the USSR Law on the Economic Independence of the Baltic Republics, and not in our capacity for striking at one another with accusations as strongly as possible.

"Permit me to remind you once again, comrades, of the proposition of the Latvian Communist Party Action Program to the effect that society is a single and integral organism and that it may be restructured only in its entirety. For this reason I see no alternative to the conclusion that the status of Soviet Latvia within the Soviet Union and the status of the Latvian Communist Party within the CPSU are organically related realities and must be changed in balanced and harmonious manner.

"We must be consistent and clearly understand that the Latvian Communist Party should be ready to fulfill the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the LaSSR and the Law on the Economic Independence of the Baltic Republics. It is for this reason that it should be ready also to elaborate and implement independently and without procrastination its own policy in accordance with the republic's conditions and within the framework of the guiding political and organizational line and draw up its own program and statutes.

"Of course, the unsubstantiated juxtaposition of the CPSU and the Latvian Communist Party does not contribute to the purposefulness and constructive nature of the discussion. Sovereignty or independence cannot be introduced by an edict or appeal, they are achieved by specific labor on improvement of our actual life and the society which exists today. We should go our way step by step, and not build speculative 'houses of cards.' For this reason the proclamation and, even more, implementation of the independence of the Latvian Communist Party is possible not as a severance of relations with the CPSU but as the cardinal transformation thereof and transition from relations of bureaucratic centralism, administrative control and subordination to relations of equal cooperation, partnership, mutual respect and solidarity.

"Not breaking but building, not counterposing but uniting, not introducing division but strengthening. The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau is convinced that such should be the leit-motiv when charting the radical and profound reform of the party.

"Yes, the most diverse thoughts, proposals and viewpoints on identical problems of the life of society and the party are being heard today. But this is normal for a country and party under renovation.

"Look what is happening around us—throughout the country, throughout the 'socialist camp,' as we sometimes say. Everything is bubbling, seething and changing not by the day, but by the hour. But I am convinced that M.S. Gorbachev is right and that the CPSU Central Committee is right in consistently emphasizing the profoundly progressive meaning, fateful for perestroyka, of what is happening.

"There is, of course, chaff therein also among the golden grain. But this is not the most important thing. The most important thing is that the Latvian Communist Party prove in practice its capacity for marching in the vanguard of the processses of renewal, become reincarnated and offer society new thinking and a new way.

"I am convinced that it is constructive discussion and the democratic formulation of a common platform based on the interests of the entire Latvian people which will help us Latvian communists clearly and definitely adopt positions of renewal and realism and continue to be together with the forces of revolutionary restructuring in the country and the state and overcome the resistance of dogmatic and conservative forces.

"After all, everyone, I believe, understands that turning aside from this path both in Latvia and in any other part of our country means not switching to another path but heading for impasse.

"Our reference points in this difficult situation in society and in the party should be, I believe, the conclusions and formulations of a number of problems in M.S. Gorbachev's article 'The Socialist Idea and Revolutionary Restructuring' and his appeal to the communists of Latvia and also the propositions of the Latvian Communist Party Action Program 'On the Way to Latvia's Sovereignty.'

"This is the foundation on which we should build the entire precongress discussion of the new status of the Latvian Communist Party and its program and statutes.

"Mention has already been made here of the standard of debate. You have all surely read M.S. Gorbachev's appeal to the communists of Latvia, which deals with very serious, fundamental issues. You surely noticed how subtly, without any pigeon-holing, but cogently it was shown to what ill-considered actions could lead. This is the style to which we should accustom ourselves in our political debate.

"In determining our viewpoint on these problems, of course, we must consider the opinions of all communists of the republic, both in Riga and in other areas and cities of Latvia. Only by comparing viewpoints and discussing them calmly and cogently will we be able to progress toward a common platform and contribute to the consolidation of society and the party.

"I am convinced that any other approach is undemocratic, not in the channel of perestroyka and will not produce positive results.

"Without going into details, I should like to say a few words about the media. Of course, both the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and the media themselves deserve criticism. But let us look at things a little differently. The USSR draft law on the press and other mass media has now been published. I would like to draw your attention particularly to articles 1, 5 and 42. After all, we will, when it has been enacted, have to be guided by this law when speaking about the mass media."

Responding to the question concerning the immediate resignation of the republic's political leadership, Ya.Ya. Vagris said in conclusion that the adoption of such decisions was the province of Central Committee plenums. If the Central Committee members deemed it necessary to discuss these matters, they could be examined at a plenum. The city activists have a right to express their opinion, but do not have the right to adopt decisions on these matters. I am convinced, he said, that all the republic's communists have an opinion in this connection.

The meeting of Riga's party aktiv passed a resolution on the question under discussion.

Comrades Ya.Ya. Okherin and G.N. Loskutov took part in the meeting.

Article 6 'Amended'

LD2912125789 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1100 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Vilnius radio commentator Usas presents the press review:

[passage omitted]

Yesterday we commented on the Latvian Supreme Soviet session which concluded yesterday in Riga. We did not know the results of the debates on Article 6 which took place in the afternoon. The press did not write about it either.

This article has been amended, and all conditions for a multiparty system in Latvia have been provided.

Economic Reform Urged

LD2812194789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet continued its work in Riga today. Our correspondent Ninel Meshkun is at the microphone:

[Meshkun] The deputies are discussing bills of vital importance for the republic. The laws on city and rayon self-government, on the establishment of a system of popular self-government, on taxation and banks, on ownership, on budgetary rights, and on the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR are aimed at helping implementation of the republic's government plan of action for the period of its transition to economic independence. The deputies have adopted the law on the state plan for economic, social, and cultural development, and also the budget of the Latvian SSR for 1990. It had already been presented at the preceding session, but everybody has needs which it did not take into account.

Have new solutions been found, and how are ways of ensuring that they are carried out in practice being thought through? Here is what Vilnis Gedertovich Bresis, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, told me:

[Begin recording] [Bresis] I believe that solutions have been found, and the commissions which examined the proposals made by our republic's State Planning Committee have approved them. Of course, I would not call them radical yet. I think that more radical and more weighty decisions can only be adopted from the next 5-year-plan period. I believe that proposals will be submitted on taxation on some sorts of consumer goods, to let the population feel, so to speak, some kind of return in the fields of medicine, health care, culture, and so on. As we know, the law on the economic independence of the Baltic republics comes into operation 1 January. We regard as urgent the need to adopt a law on changes in the management structure of the national economy and, above all, to create an economic mechanism. We believe that the Ministry of the Economy of the Latvian SSR will be just the thing to meet that need. It will be able to advance the economic reform further.

[Meshkun] Now is literally the eve of the New Year. What hopes do you have, and what can you offer the people of the republic?

[Bresis] Undoubtedly, the people of the republic must be offered the chance to understand everything that we are doing, and they must definitely be offered the chance to think about the fact that everything which we can redistribute, sell, and allocate—as is being said here many times—we can, to the extent that our production, so to speak, our industry, agriculture, and other sectors of the national economy, are developed. [sentence as heard] Therefore, it is not just one leader of the government or ministers who will do everything here: We need here very great initiative from collectives, the masses, managers, and specialists. [end recording]

[Meshkun] The agenda for the session includes the issues of amending Article 6 of the republic's Constitution, and of restoring Latvia's old anthem, coat of arms, and flag. The USSR people's deputies have proposed that the law on constitutional supervision in the USSR be put forward for approval by the session. The deputies have examined many issues on just their first reading. The session will continue its work in January, next year.

TASS Reviews Session

LD2812214489 Moscow TASS in English 1936 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Riga December 28 TASS—A session of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic continued here today.

Most of the bills submitted for discussion were aimed at the establishment of the republic's all-round economic independence. It has already been legally sealed by the USSR Supreme Soviet, but there is a need for more detailed decisions at the republican level.

The question of changing some articles of the Constitution (fundamental law) of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic was additionally put on the agenda on the first day of the session. The emphasis has been placed on Article Six of the republic's Constitution.

The new working of the article approved in the first reading says that any public organisation, including a party, is created and functions in Latvia in the way stipulated by the Constitution and other laws of the republic.

The new wording of a number of other articles of the constitution enables citizens of the Latvian Republic to unite in parties and other public organisations that do not proclaim forcible overthrow of the existing system.

Membership in any party or any other public organisation does not offer advantages or create restrictions for the participation of a citizen of the Latvian Republic in the affairs of the state.

Supplements and amendments were made at the session to some legislative acts of the republic. As a large number of items were additionally put on the agenda of the session, the deputies decided to break off work and to assemble again after the New Year holidays.

Lithuanian Commission Drafting Independence Plan

LD2912015189 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] The commission on elaborating a plan for restoring Lithuania's independence, set up by Lithuania's Supreme Soviet, has held its first sitting. It was chaired by Algirdas Brazauskas, the leader of the Lithuanian Communist Party, who is one of the five members of the chairman's collegium.

The sitting decided to form four working groups to study the republic's economic, political—including domestic and foreign relations—and cultural fields, which will put forward concrete proposals for the plan on restoring Lithuania's independence. The groups are headed by the members of the chairman's collegium.

Another sitting of the commission is to be held on 4 January.

The commission, set up in November, is to submit its proposals to the Supreme Soviet within 3 months.

The republic's election commission to hold the new parliamentary elections has also held a sitting, chaired by its chairman, Academician Juozas Bulavas. At last week's congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party, Academician Juozas Bulavas was restored as party member after having been expelled from the party for the second time in 1959 for allegedly commiting mistakes of a political nature. Let me remind you here that during the latest Supreme Soviet session, while approving the election commission and its chairman, the Sajudis deputies spoke up resolutely against the candidature of a Communist Party functionary and nominated Academician Juozas Bulavas. The commission's first sitting was devoted to various organizational issues of the forthcoming elections.

Lithuanian Sajudis Supports Consultative Council

LD2912110589 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] The Sajudis news agency reports that a session of the Sajudis Seimas Council took place on 26 December. The Political Commission of the Sajudis Seimas took part in it. The current political situation in Lithuania after the 20th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party [CP] was discussed. Reports were made by Algimantas Cekuolis, Bronius Genzelis, Bronius Kuzmickas, and others.

It was noted that Sajudis was no longer an opposition to the Lithuanian CP. A decision was made that a meeting with the leaders of the Lithuanian CP should be held in the new year; it was also decided that the Sajudis short-term action program should be set up.

The idea to set up a Provisional Political Consultative Council of Lithuania was given support. Representatives delegated from various Lithuanian political parties should form the composition of the council. The aim of this council would be to rally political forces of Lithuania to coordinate their actions and draw nearer their positions during the transition period on the path to independence and especially during the period until the first session of the newly elected Supreme Soviet. The council would take prognosis actions and stages of actions until the Republic of Lithuania has been restored.

In case of a coup in the USSR, the international crisis in Eastern Europe, or in case of a special local crisis, the council should have a promptly acting information body which would be able to supply information to the Lithuanian public and consolidate it for common actions.

Lithuanian Democrats Party Registered

LD2912020989 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Today is no doubt a historic day for Lithuania. The multiparty system has actually come into force. At today's sitting of the Council of Ministers, the Lithuanian Communist Party and the Lithuanian Democrats Party were registered.

As the government's press representative (?Ceslovas Shevsimus) informed Radio Vilnius, representing the Lithuanian Communist Party at the sitting was Second Secretary of the Central Committee Vladimir Berezov, and the Lithuanian Democrats Party was represented by (?Jonas Gevancus), member of the Council's presidium. The congress of the Democrats Party took place at the end of July and the refusal to register it was motivated by Article 6 of the Constitution, abolished only recently.

As to the independent Lithuanian Communist Party, its membership is estimated at about 150,000, though the exact figure will become known only in April.

The membership of the Democrats Party is also being fixed at present, as members' declarations are at present being exchanged for permanent membership cards. So the current figure is also approximate, around 2,500.

(?Jonas Gevancus) told Radio Vilnius that on a joint platform with Sajudis the Democrats Party would seek to win three to five seats in Lithuania's Parliament. The elections are to be held on 24 February.

Lithuanian Communist Party Congress Analyzed

90UN0534B Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 51, 20 Dec 89 p 3

[Interview with Shyaulyay party leader M. Stakvilyavichyus by G. Tselms: "Lithuania: Special Congress"]

[Text] The special, 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress opened yesterday. The day before, our correspondent met with one of its delegates—M. Stakvilyavichyus. An assistant professor at the Pedagogical Institute, he is simultaneously a member of the "Sajudis" Sejm and was this year elected USSR people's deputy and first secretary of the Shyaulyay Gorkom [City Party Committee]—an exotic combination (not for the Baltic, however). As a recent poll showed, Stakvilyavichyus is the most popular person in Shyaulyay.

[Tselms] Please explain why it was necessary to convene the congress ahead of time! It was, after all, less than a year to the next one.

[Stakvilyavichyus] We were fearfully late as it was. The idea of convening a special conference or congress emerged at the start of the year. Had we assembled in summer, we would have confined ourselves to the adoption of new statutes and the election of a new Central Committee. And the question of separation from the CPSU would not have been that acute. The Communists would only have demanded genuine independence and restructuring in the party, but the apparatchiks of our Central Committee were able to drag things out.

[Tselms] Then a question point blank, so to speak: Will the Lithuanian Communist Party separate from the CPSU?

[Stakvilyavichyus] I do not like such unequivocal definitions. Since we are in the USSR, it is logical that there be an alliance of sovereign republic Communist Parties united by a common cause. The preparations for the 28th CPSU Congress will show what form our alliance will acquire subsequently.

We have changed Article 6 of our Constitution. So now the Lithuanian Communist Party has to struggle for influence at even money.

[Tselms] Do you allow of the possibility of a split in the Lithuanian Communist Party? After all, it cannot be ruled out that the Russian-speaking part thereof might wish to remain in the CPSU.

[Stakvilyavichyus] I would like to believe that the Communists living in Lithuania will consider themselves, but much also will depend on our congress. It must help to unite the most diverse currents and factions even. And, further, if we confine ourselves merely to the problem of our independence and cannot unite people with the idea of social justice, that is, the idea of real socialism, people will leave us.

[Tselms] The Lithuanian Communist Party faces a serious struggle. Who is its main competitor? Which of the several parties at present?

[Stakvilyavichyus] None of these parties is that strong individually. The programs are similar and there are among the leaders many people with a grievance who failed to find a place for themselves in the movement. Some of them, however, are united by anticommunism and a thirst for vengeance. And this is meeting with a response at mass meetings—many grievances have accumulated, after all. I fear that destructive emotions are gaining the upper hand with certain leaders in "Sajudis" also.

I sometimes ask myself: Why am I still a Communist (and moreoverr, you will say, agree to be gorkom secretary)? It would seem that we are entangled in so many knots that it is time to dissolve ourselves and quit the scene. But this would be dishonorable. Since we have become entangled, we must ourselves become disentangled.

[Tselms] And what about the party's name?

[Stakvilyavichyus] I would consider it essential to keep it. Otherwise, it would be something akin to putting on someone else's clean dress. No, we should not be changing clothes but washing out our own clothes. We further need the name "Communist" because we cannot make a breakthrough alone. We must act together with a renewed CPSU and with all the world's Communist Parties.

[Tselms] Where do you feel better and more among your own kind—in the Central Committee or in the "Sajudis" Sejm?

[Stakvilyavichyus] To be honest, I do not feel all that good in either place. In the Central Committee there is confusion and a confrontation of new and old forces. In "Sajudis" there is, it would seem, more purposefulness and confidence, but diktat also. I am a kind of "Sajudis" nominee in a party position, but I consider myself to have the right to act exclusively in accordance with my own beliefs. This is not, seemingly, to everyone's liking. Here is a funny thing: we criticized the Communist Party for a monopoly of the truth, but now we ourselves frequently lay claim to such a monopoly.

People's writer Yu. Baltushis once permitted himself to speak "wrongly" at the Supreme Soviet session. In response there were calls for his books to be burned. Such absurdity. In my position of party secretary and also as a member of the "Sajudis" leadership, I see it as my main mission to keep people together as we move forward from extremes and from malice and intolerance. In this sense, I am a centrist. It is a difficult time for centrists now—they are being pulled in different directions.

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Members Listed

90UN0386D Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 10 Nov 89 p 3

[Decree of Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) Supreme Soviet: "On Composition of the Presidium of Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] hereby decrees:

1. To augment the personnel of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR with seven members.

2. To select as members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR:

Bernotas Alfonsas, deputy from the Zhyalvaskiy electoral okrug, chairman of the commission for legislative proposals of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, chairman of the executive committee of the Ukmergskiy rayon soviet of people's deputies;
Domaris Vladislavas, deputy of the Komsomolskiy electoral okrug, chairman of the commission for public education and culture of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, rector of Kaunas Polytechnical Institute;
Zhukauskas Algirdas, deputy from the Svedasayskiy electoral okrug, chairman of the planning and budget commission of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, vice president of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences;
Martsikyavichyus Yustinas, deputy from the Palangskiy electoral okrug, writer;
Moteku Kasimeras deputy from the Viduklskiy electoral okrug, lawyer of the Vilnius 1st city legal consultation service;
Ozolas Romualdas, deputy from the Gubernskiy electoral okrug, editor-in-chief of the newspaper ATGIMIMAS;
Chupliiskas Algis, deputy from Shnipishkskiy electoral okrug, general director of the Sigma Production Association, director of the calculator plant imeni V.I. Lenin.

[Signed] Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, V. Astrauskas.
Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, L. Sabutis
Vilnius, 4 November 1989.

Estonian Supreme Soviet Session Passes Budget

PM2912141589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Dec 89 Second Edition p3

[ETA-TASS report under the general heading "Sessions at Work"]

[Text] Tallinn, 28 Dec—The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet session completed work here today. Yesterday, deputies rejected the government's proposed draft budget for the republic in 1990. The stumbling blocks were the draft's unregulated purchase prices for agricultural produce, an increase in which has been demanded by parliamentarians representing the agrarian sector, and also the government's proposed increase in prices for alcoholic beverages, beer, and tobacco products in order to be able to increase the wages of people engaged in the sociocultural sphere as well as student grants and pension benefits.

The draft law was returned to the Supreme Soviet Planning and Budget Commission and experts for further elaboration and today was submitted, with amendments, for discussion by deputies. The draft budget was adopted after a lively discussion. The sharpness of the debate is illustrated by the fact that 145 deputies voted in favor: 144 was the requisite number of votes for passing the bill. The clause on raising the prices of alcoholic beverages, beer, and tobacco products was approved. With regard to the purchase prices of agricultural produce, the government has been instructed to draft proposals on raising them by 1 March 1990.

Estonian Minister on Agricultural Reform

LD2812215189 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Excerpts] the collegium of our republic's agroindustrial committee has met for the last time in the present form. Johan Virkus reports.

[Virkus] Today, here in Tallinn, in Lai Street, the collegium of the big agro-industrial committee met for the last time. Minister Vello Lind, what will happen next?

[Lind] According to the Supreme Soviet resolution, it has been laid down that there will also be a Ministry of Agriculture within the new government of 17 ministries. And that is how it will be from 1 January. The agro-industrial committee will be reorganized within 2 months, it will be reshaped into the Estonian Ministry of Agriculture. [passage omitted]

On two occasions, the union government has deceived the republican government. The first time was when it did not agree directly to the 150-million ruble union tax and set it at 350 million rubles instead. The second time was when according to the union government's promise, there was a promise from 1 January of new procurement prices for Estonia—like to all other union republics—on milk, meat, and other agricultural produce. In this respect, too, Estonian agriculture, the whole of Estonia, will not receive 324 million addtional rubles.

[Virkus] And today at the Supreme Soviet you made a last effort.

[Lind] Indeed, one could even say, quite a desperate one. I think that our agriculture is in such a state that it cannot go on like this any longer, with procurement prices at the same level. What will happen is what has happened to neighboring oblast: Pskov, Novgorod, and other oblasts. And I made a proposal to raise the price of vodka and, to the same degree also, to raise the procurement price on milk. This would have equalled to 114 million out of those 324 million, or about one-third. This would have perhaps provided a more secure feeling to the farmers and hope to continue. [passage indistinct] [passage omitted]

Estonia's Vyalyas Supports Lithuanian CP's Stand

LD2812153789 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] In Latvia and Estonia the Communists closely watched the work of the [Lithuanian] plenum. The news that the first secretaries of our neighboring republics did not support the stand taken by the Lithuanians in Moscow was interpreted as very strange. But why?

Back home the first secretaries had to give account to their people. Yesterday, addressing the Estonian television viewers, the first secretary, Vayno Vyalyas, spoke in favor of the Lithuanian communists' stand. Eva Taark reports from Tallinn.

[Taark] The people of Estonia have been following the congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party which declared the party independent of the CPSU and the reaction from the Moscow authorities to it with keen interest.

The leader of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, Vayno Vyalyas, stressed, speaking at the recent plenum of the CPSU Central Committee dealing with this issue, that all the union republics must have independent communist parties capable of making decisions of their own. He claimed that the Communist Party could be guaranteed prestige by no constitution paragraphs but only by the trust of the people.

Vayno Vyalyas also said that the CPSU must be totally reformed and that hasty conclusions could not prove true referring to the Moscow reaction to the Lithuanian Communist Party declaration of independence. V. Vyalyas had also been a member of the editing committee at the plenum. He said in a television interview on arrival to Tallinn from Moscow on Tuesday night that the main idea of the work of the committee had been to trust in the need for guaranteeing the unity of the CPSU.

V. Vyalyas asserted that the conservatives had started a coordinated assault; and when speaking about the Communist Party unity, M. Gorbachev meant the unity of the reform-minded forces.

Estonian Trade Union Congress Decisions Reported

PM2212140589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Dec 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Estonian Trade Union Congress"]

[Text] Tallinn—The 20th Estonian trade union congress continued work in Tallinn yesterday.

By a majority the congress voted to adopt a decision to recognize the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] trade unions as an autonomous and independent social organization whose activity is based on the Estonian SSR trade union law and on its statutes and program.

The congress approved the Estonian SSR trade unions' action program and instructed the Estonian SSR Trade Union Council to relieve the Estonian trade unions' leading organ of its powers and wind up the Estonian SSR trade union apparatus by 28 February 1990.

To ensure the unity of actions of Estonia's trade unions the congress deemed it necessary to set up a Central Union of Republic Trade Unions. For that purpose and to resolve organizational questions locally it has been decided that the congress will resume work on 12 April 1990. In addition, it has been decided that the agenda of the future session will include the following questions: the adoption of the statutes of the Central Union of Estonian Trade Unions and the formation of its standing working organs.

In the period between this session and the next the leadership of the 20th congress will be represented by the presidium and its chairman elected at the first and second sessions.

Estonian Candidates Explain Election Withdrawal

WA2712202189 Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian 8 Dec 89 p 2

[Former candidates' explanation: "Why We Have Stood Down"]

[Text] Next Sunday [10 December] the republic's inhabitants will be accorded the right to choose the people to whom they will entrust the exercise of power in the local organs of self-administration. Our names also were until recently on the lists of candidates for deputy. The outfits which nominated us most likely linked with us their hopes for seeing in the local soviets people expressing their interests. And we, by virtue of our public duty and personal convictions, were prepared to work actively in the soviets.

But our names will not figure on the ballot papers on 10 December. We have declined to run for election and have withdrawn our candidacies. Moreover, we have declined to participate in the elections altogether. On Sunday none of us and none of the people sharing our position will go to the polls. We will not go. For if a person takes hold of a ballot paper for a secret ballot, he is, even having opted for none of the above, by the mere fact of participation supporting the new republic law on elections to the local soviets. On Sunday there will be a kind of referendum: I support the law, I go to the polls, I disagree with it, I do not go.

There have been many arguments in connection with this law: in the republic's parliament and in the country's Supreme Soviet Presidium, in the newspapers and in the work force. And in recent weeks there has simply rained down on us a volley of every possible leaflet, by which attempts have been made by public associations of the most diverse persuasions to stun the townspeople. In the leaflet "What Should We Do on 10 December?" the Intermovement suspects the electoral commissions of dishonesty and calls for the creation of groups of reliable people who will be on duty at the polls. The Electoral Alliance, which incorporates national public movements—from the People's Front through the STKE [Estonian Workforce Council]—directly instructs the population in its leaflets, crowned with the city's medieval symbol: for whom to vote and in what order of priority. Without superfluous words and appeals, the leaflet offers a list of Tallinn's electoral okrugs and numbers the candidates. It is not necessary to cudgel one's brains as to which figure to put against each name. All is decided. Or predetermined?

It is this that is embarrassing. It is this that has forced us to once again explain our position publicly. Not the set of instructions of the Electoral Alliance, you understand, but the situation which has taken shape in the republic today. Does it differ from that which prevailed in October, when we consented to run for deputy? In our opinion, yes, it does. First, the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet session enacted a law on elections to the local soviets limiting citizens' rights. Second, legally binding instruments ensuing therefrom appeared: instructions on vote-counting, the carving-up of constituencies and so forth. And whereas the law on introduction of a residency qualification reduces to nothing such a democratic gain as general elections, the legally binding instruments make them uneven and indirect. Some people, let us assume, will vote in a single-nomination constituency and may elect only one deputy, some, in multiple-nomination constituency, and these latter therefore have five votes. The direct right of each voter to elect a deputy will now be manipulated by the electoral commission, transferring votes to the candidates who do not make the quota.

At that time, in October, we still had the hope that our misgivings would at least be heard. Approximately 50 deputies of the Morskiy Rayon Soviet demanded that the rayispolkom [rayon soviet executive committee] convene a session of the rayon soviet and clarify these issues. However, the rayispolkom, which had not assembled the deputies for 9 months, exerted the maximum effort to frustrate even this session.

And one further consideration. On 10 November 1989 the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium passed a decree which affirms that legislative instruments of the union republics which are contrary to the USSR Constitution may not operate on the territory of these republics in accordance with Article 74 of the Fundamental Law. Our opponents are going after this argument with particular zeal. It is undemocratic, they say, referring to the Brezhnev constitution of the stagnation period, it will soon have been revised. As to what will have been revised there is no doubt. However, we are confident that the underlying constitutional gains defending human rights, gains characterizing all democratic state systems, will necessarily remain in the new Fundamental Law also. It is this confidence which compels us to treat with respect the articles of the Constitution of our country which is currently in force. As distinct from our opponents, we regard the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree not as another flagrant intervention on the part of the center in the affairs of a sovereign republic but as a reminder of our duty as citizens of a federative state which has subscribed to international instruments governing human rights.

Incidentally, the true reasons for the deviations of the republic election laws from these international instruments were explained candidly and logically, in our view, by Yu. Nugis, chairman of the STKE, at a recent meeting of this council. In his opinion, all electoral limitations will be lifted with the introduction of citizenship of the Estonian Republic. But the question of citizenship will be decided in direct succession to the proclamation of a state which is a lawful continuation of the Estonian Republic. In an interview with the newspaper NOORTE HAAL of 22 November (reprinted in MOLODEZH ESTONII of 23 November) Yu. Nugis proposes the convening of all the deputies of the self-administration authorities elected on 10 December and regarding the adopted decision as the results of a referendum, and of what will be decided there, the chairman of the STKE, which is participating in the Electoral Alliance, emphasizes, there is no doubt.

Thus we have explained once more to our electorate the reasons which prompted us to stand down and to decline to participate in the elections altogether. Understandable reasons, we believe. But there naturally arise questions as to what good this will do us. Would it not be better to become actively involved in the election campaign, struggle for the votes of the electorate and then consistently and firmly defend its interests? These questions cannot be brushed aside. They have confronted us agonizingly and, to be honest, continue to do so. They are probably also troubling hundreds of people who have not yet decided for themselves whether or not to go to the polls on Sunday. Whether our boycott will do us any good is hard to guess. We are aware of the vulnerability of our position. Yes, it is somewhat contradictory, conflicting even. But we could with even less certainty maintain that we could defend the interests of our electorate as deputies elected to the local soviets. And is the situation in which we all find ourselves today predictable in its development? Does it not reflect acute contradictions—social, national, constitutional? We are all in one way or another pulled into a conflict with the law, and each of us will have to resolve it. On Sunday, 10 December included.

[Signed] For the group of candidates who have stood down.
V. Rudenya (2d Okrug), A. Zybin (11th Okrug), S. Puchkov (25th Okrug), A. Fomin (7th Okrug).

Estonian 'October Interfront' Renamed

90UN0502A WA2712203689 Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian 28 Nov 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "The 'October Interfront' Has Become the 'Democratic Party'"]

[Text] A meeting of the "October Interfront" was held on 26 November. Considering the fundamental differences in views from those of the leaders of the Intermovement and also the fact that the Interfront is associated among a majority of the population with the Intermovement, the meeting decided on the impossibility of retention of the former name and voted by a majority to rename the "October Interfront" the "Democratic Party" social and political organization. The ultimate goal of the organization is the formation of a party.

The "Democratic Party" social and political organization sets as its main aim unification primarily of the Russian-speaking population for active participation in the democratic transformations in Estonia.

The "Democratic Party's" main political views are:

1. The question of Estonia's independence may be resolved only by the Estonian people by free expression of their wishes. The essential conditions for this are:
a multiparty system;

freedom of speech, belief, the press, mass meetings and assembly;

all Estonian citizens participating in the self-determination.

2. Discussion of the Motolov-Ribbentrop Pact and the secret protocols connected therewith and also the events of 1940, as a result of which the Estonian Republic was incorporated in the Soviet Union.

3. Enactment of a "zero" law on citizenship.

4. An electoral system. All Estonian citizens possessing the vote and the right to be elected to the Supreme Soviet. The absence of a law on citizenship does not signify the possibility of a limitation of their civil rights.

We support the formation of an electoral system of the Estonian Supreme Soviet based on the principles of electoral roll balloting per the lists of organizations, movements and parties, which affords a politically organized minority an opportunity to have members of parliament and to express and defend its interests. The Law on Elections to the Estonian Supreme Soviet with a multiple-mandate system does not provide the minority with guarantees that it will have its own representatives in parliament.

5. While supporting the imparting to Estonian of official language status and the passage of the Language Act, we believe that without an official program of implementation of the Language Act it will be of the nature of a political declaration. The official program should provide for a differentiated approach for different regions of Estonia such as, for example, the northeast of the republic.

6. Each national group has the right to the free development of its culture. This right is secured by the local self-management authorities and the citizens' initiative and, if necessary, by the supreme organs of power. The state provides for programs of education and culture in Estonian and Russian.

7. The stage-by-stage creation in the republic of a controlled market economy based on a diversity of forms of ownership, an important component of which should be public enterprises. Public enterprises are formed from state enterprises, other than enterprises of sectors specified separately, by way of the transfer of the enterprises to the full ownership of their workers.

8. Land reform for the transfer of land to the ownership of the peasant.

We ask that those who support the said propositions and wish to subscribe, to communicate this to Box 5125, Tallinn 200029 or to telephone 45-29-74 between the hours of 3 and 5 pm.

Moldavian Elections of People's Deputies Begin

LD2712130789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Today in Moldavia the most important stage started in the election campaign for the elections of people's deputies of the Moldavian SSR and the deputies to the local soviets and the nomination of candidates for deputies in all sections. The republic's supreme body, the Supreme Soviet, will consist of 380 deputies. They are to be elected in territorial constituencies on the basis for a general, equal and direct right to be elected. The law envisages that, as a rule, citizens resident or working on the territory of the respective constituency are nominated as candidates for the republic's people's deputies.

Political Situation in Moldavia Described

PM2812211489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Dec 89 First Edition p 3

[Own correspondent A. Pasechnik report: "On the Political Situation in the Republic. Moldavia: Choice Before the Elections"]

[Text] Kishinev—Moldavia is painfully living through the tragic events in neighboring Romania, where many of the republic's inhabitants have relatives and friends. People in the cities and in the countryside cannot tear themselves away from their radios and television sets. There is a growing stream of aid being sent to the fraternal people in their plight, in the form of food, clothing, and medicines....

But life goes on, with its everyday work and with the problems which have worsened to an unprecedented extent during the past year. What is the situation in Moldavia today? On the republic's political barometer, the arrow appears to have swung toward "clear." After the outburst of extremist, unlawful demonstrations on 7 and 10 November, which PRAVDA reported in some detail, I would say that the time for sobering up has now come. The rallies have died down in the streets and squares of Kishinev and other cities in the republic. The atmosphere in labor collectives is noticeably calmer. However....

"I am changing my apartment in Kishinev to live in a city in central Russia—I don't care which city." Announcements like this one in the local advertisement weekly are no longer a rarity. True, as far as I am aware, there are few takers for this kind of exchange. The spring of the sociopolitical situation, wound to breaking point in the year now drawing to a close, is still compressed. One is clearly aware of the antagonism between different social forces and the demarcation of people on ethnic grounds. I discussed all this at length with an old acquaintance of mine—K. Sekriyeru, first secretary of the Sovetskiy rayon party committee.

"You must understand," he said thoughtfully, "it is now hard to give any unequivocal description of the situation. There is no doubt that the alarm which gripped people's hearts just 1 month or 6 weeks ago has receded a little. There are far less rumors now, incidentally. Rumors of pogroms, assault operations, even earthquakes.... There is another noteworthy detail. Visiting collectives, I can see that people have become more restrained in their mutual recriminations—both Moldavians and, shall we say, non-Moldavians. They are evidently coming to realize that it is hard to prove they are right by shouting, holding rallies, or going on strike. The renewal of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee leadership and particularly its first steps—the crux of which I would sum up in the following three points: consideration of realities, dialogue, and consolidation—have been received with hope, I must say, in the rayon's collectives."

My interlocutor's last words clearly outlined the essence of the big discussion held at a recent meeting of the republic party aktiv. The meeting was unusual in many ways (in any case, in the practice of the Moldavian party organization). First, some of those present were shocked by the unprecedented brevity (a mere 30 minutes) of the report by P. Luchinskiy, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, "On Measures to Consolidate Social Forces in Resolving Serious Problems of the Republic's Socioeconomic Development." Second, independent formations, which now in many ways determine the political tone of the republic—the Moldavian People's Front, the international movement "Unitatya"-"Yedinstvo," the popular movement "Gagauz-Khalky," and the Bulgarian society "Rebirth"—were represented at this forum for the first time. Finally, the main distinguishing feature: the constructive nature of the discussion and its orientation toward drawing up a clear program of consolidation. They defined the priority aspects of resolving serious socioeconomic problems and decided to set up working groups comprising members of Moldavian Communist Party elected bodies, the deputy aktiv, the public, and specialists that will be responsible for each of these problems. Each member of the Central Committee Bureau has been instructed to guide these groups and be personally responsible for a specific area.

The need for this kind of approach has been coming to a head for a long time. For the last 18 months or so, the republic's leading authorities have been conducting unhurried discussions on how the roots of many of today's problems lie in the socioeconomic strata. Time has flowed past while these discussions have been going on, but these strata have largely remained untouched.

Take the most serious problem, for example: housing. The republic's "Housing Program," once loudly advertized, has fallen catastrophically short of current-day requirements. Suffice it to say that, since the beginning of the 5-year plan period, the housing waiting list in the republic has not only not grown shorter but has even grown by 25 percent. The republic is making poor use of its own potential with regard to increasing the output of consumer goods, supplying the population with food, and easing ecological tension, which has reached its peak in Moldavia. Naturally, all this is causing righteous indignation among people.

"The difference between the spiritual and the material is always fraught with problems," Professor A. Lisetskiy, chairman of the presidium of the republic council of the international movement "Unitatya"-"Yedinstvo," said. "But if it is a question of growth in national self-awareness, this is doubly dangerous. So it is highly gratifying that the solution of problems which have literally had the republic up on its hind legs is moving into the economic sphere. But another extreme has to be avoided here—setting one's hopes solely on square meters, tonnes, and percentages. Man cannot live by bread alone, as they say.... The path to harmonizing interethnic relations lies via the economy, culture, and politics—particularly national politics. But the latter was discussed, at best, in stereotyped phrases at the aktiv meeting."

Yu. Roshka, vice chairman of the Moldavian People's Front Council, gave his own assessment of the current sociopolitical situation in the republic:

"I think its main feature is its state of rather shaky equilibrium. It is encouraging that the new leadership of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee is trying to come out of the self-imposed isolation in which the Central Committee has been since the summer of last year and is endeavoring to build a broad dialogue with all strata of society and all formations. The dialogue now taking shape—which, I stress, is based on openness, honesty, glasnost, and mutual respect—is particularly important now, on the eve of the election campaign, in which we intend to play a most active role."

Preparations for the elections to the republic's Supreme Soviet and local soviets are yet another considerably important factor in the present situation in the republic. A "plus" factor, if I may say. Why? Well, first, the law on elections adopted at the most recent Moldavian Supreme Soviet session placed the entire electoral system on a firm democratic footing. Unlike some other republics' laws, it does not contain any restrictions, such as residential qualifications, for example; all are equal before the law. Second, unlike the last election campaign, this time the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee has clearly and unequivocally set out its position in a special address to voters: on the basis of a broad social dialogue, consolidation of all healthy forces supporting restructuring, and respect for their laws, to implement in practice the program aims of bringing about our republic's economic, social, and spiritual renewal.

What kind of response has this address found in people's hearts? Time will tell. For the moment, labor collectives have completed their preliminary discussion of candidates for deputy, whose nomination began on 27 December. The first results show that people are choosing in favor of constructive programs and in favor of candidates capable of leading people and rallying them for the sake of renewing our home. There is a growing clear awareness of the indisputable fact that, for all the present diversity of the republic's political palette, it is the Communist Party that is the only real consolidating force in society.

"You are particularly aware of this understanding in the labor collectives," I. Morar, team leader of foundry core makers at the Kishinev Tractor Plant and deputy chairman of the Moldavian Supreme Soviet Presidium, who we met in the foundry during his lunch break, stressed. "Everyone is of the same opinion: Only a renewed Communist Party, only a high degree of political awareness and an equally high degree of responsibility for the task in hand can help us in this difficult hour for the republic. That is the basis we proceed from when analyzing the situation in Moldavia and discussing candidates for nomination to the soviets. That is our workers' choice."

Moldavian Communist Party Changes Reported

LD2712131889 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 6 Dec 89

[Excerpts] The 17th plenum of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee was held in Kishinev on 5 December. [passage omitted] The plenum examined organizational matters. [passage omitted]

The plenum released M.I. Snegur from his duties as secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, in connection with his transfer to other work.

Three candidates were nominated for this post: N.A. Kutkovetskiy; I.N. Russu; and A.N. Sangeli.

The plenum elected N.A. Kutkovetskiy secretary and member of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau on the basis of these three alternatives.

The plenum released V.F. Semenov from his duties as secretary and member of the Bureau of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, in connection with his transfer to other work.

The plenum transferred Ye.V. Sobor from candidate member of the Bureau of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and elected him secretary and member of the Bureau of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum released A.A. Mokanu from his duties as member of the Bureau of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, in connection with his transfer to work in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The plenum transferred G.I. Lavranchuk from candidate member of the Bureau of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, to full membership.

The plenum transferred V.V. Runkovskiy from candidate member of the Bureau of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee to full membership.

The plenum released V.A. Kazyulin from his duties as chief of the Organizational Party Work and Cadres Department and candidate member of the Bureau of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee in connection with his transfer to a responsible position within the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum approved M.I. Kodin as chief of the Organizational Party Work and Cadres Department at the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, made him a member of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, and elected him candidate member of the Bureau of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee

The plenum elected I.I. Arnaut candidate member of the Bureau of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum made G.F. Samsi a member of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and elected him candidate member of the Bureau of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum released A.A. Zhuchenko, V.A. Kazyulin, and A.A. Mokanu from membership of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, at their request and in connection with their departure from the republic.

The plenum released V.M. Lebedkin from his duties as editor of the republican paper SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIA, in connection with his transfer to other work.

The plenum approved V.E Stanev as editor of the republican paper SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA. P.K. Luchinskiy, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the plenum.

I.F. Feklistov, a senior member of the CPSU Central Committee Party Construction and Cadres Work Department, took part in the work of the plenum.

Moldavian Party Plans Publication Changes

90US0274B Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 18 Nov 89 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed article: "In the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party"]

[Text] The Bureau of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party has adopted a resolution "On Certain Questions of Restructuring the Republic Press."

It is noted in the resolution that the mass media are playing an ever more active role in affirming glasnost, democracy, truthfulness, and the development of criticism and self-criticism, in identifying and eliminating the factors which are impeding processes of perestroyka.

At the same time, mass media activity is in need of improvement and perfection. A number of newspapers and magazines lag behind real-life requirements. Some of them have a one-sided understanding of their role in publicizing the transformations taking place in the social, political, economic, and spiritual spheres; they exhibit subjectivism and bias in depicting the events which are taking place in our republic.

In accordance with the 29 July 1989 CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Certain Questions of Restructuring the Central Party Press," the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party recognized the need to direct the efforts of the newspapers MOLDOVA SOCHIALISTE and SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA to disseminating information on implementation in the republic of the policy line drawn up by the April (1985) and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and by the 27th Party Congress, and consolidated by the 19th All-Union Party Conference. The newspapers were called upon to present deep and comprehensive coverage of the course of economic and political reform and the leading role of party organizations in perestroyka processes; to present more thorough creative and constructive criticism; to identify and eliminate causes of stagnation and obstruction; to facilitate formation of a genuinely internationalist consciousness; to strengthen trust between the representatives of all nations and peoples living in our republic; and to promote a policy towards consolidation of social forces based on the strategy of perestroyka and the CPSU platform on the ethnic question.

In order to increase analytical materials, reduce duplication of information, and expand the subject matter of its issues, it was decided beginning in 1990 to make VYATSA SATULUY, the newspaper of the CPSU Central Committee, a weekly publication.

Beginning in 1990 there will be issued a weekly publication of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party, YNVETSEMYNTUL PUBLIK SHI KULTURA MOLDOVEY (Public Education and Culture of Moldavia), based on the newspaper YNVETSEMYNTUL PUBLIK (Public Education). It will appear in both Moldavian and Russian and consist of eight pages in the PRAVDA format. The new publication should provide broad dissemination of the activity of party committees in directing the restructuring of public education, improving the education and training process, eliminating departmental barriers in the public education system, and renewing the activity of cultural enlightenment institutions, the amateur creative activity of the people, esthetic education of the masses.

Beginning in 1991, supplements to the newspaper SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA—RODNO SLOVO in Bulgarian, and ANA SOZU in Gagauz—will be reorganized into newspapers of the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers of the Moldavian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. They will consist of four pages, half-PRAVDA format, and be published twice weekly.

It was decided to adopt proposals of the Moldavian Republic Council of Trade Unions on instituting, beginning in 1990, the weekly MSSR [Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic] trade-union publication VOCHYA POPORULUY (Voice of the People) in the Moldavian and Russian languages, with an 8-page PRAVDA format. The new publication is intended to provide comprehensive information on the life of the working class, the life of toilers in the village, their role in contemporary society and in the management of social affairs; to show the participation of trade unions in sociopolitical and socioeconomic development, the role they play in protecting the rights and legitimate interests of the workers; to actively facilitate consolidation of the people who labor in our republic of all nationalities and ethnic groups.

Beginning in 1990, the weekly MOLDOVA LITERARE, organ of the MSSR Writers' Union, will be instituted based on the newspaper LITERATURA SHI ARTA, with 8-page PRAVDA format. It will contain a supplement entitled "Glasul," with 12-page half-PRAVDA format, and be published twice monthly. The new publications should provide thorough and comprehensive information on literary activities, promote and disseminate the finest examples of Moldavian Soviet literature and the contribution made by men of letters to the renewal of society.

Beginning in 1990, the large-edition newspaper MOLDOVA SPORTIVE (Sports in Moldavia) will be reformed into a republic newspaper, the organ of the MSSR State Committee on Physical Education and Sports and of the Moldavian Republic Council of All-Union Voluntary Sports Society Trade Unions, with 4-page PRAVDA format, published twice weekly in Moldavian and Russian.

The content of the magazine KOMUNISTUL MOLDOVEY (Communist of Moldavia) will comprise material of greater urgency and topical nature; its theoretical and professional level will be enhanced. It will have the task of executing more consistently its main functions as a theoretical and political publication, of providing more active assistance in forming a new type of party worker—one who is oriented on the mastery of political forms and methods in his work, of providing detailed information on matters regarding the renewal of party activity, democratization of intra-party relations, and enhancement of the vanguard role of the CPSU. In order to more fully enlighten with regard to questions on patriotic and international education, and to enhance the level of the Moldavian edition of the magazine, departments will be established for interethnic relations and translation.

Beginning in 1990, TRIBUNA, the magazine of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party, will be increased in size by two printer's sheets. This publication is intended to provide widespread dissemination of the processes of perestroyka and ideological-education work, to inform the aktiv in a time-sensitive manner regarding matters of the renewal of ideological life, problems brought up at "unified political-study days," during political instruction, lectures, and discussions, at rallies and meetings with political speakers, in letters addressed to party and other organs.

AGRIKULTURA MOLDOVEY (Moldavian Agriculture), magazine of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party, will be transformed into the organ of the MSSR Agricultural Industry Union.

The name of the magazine POMIKULTURA SHI VITIKULTURA MOLDOVEY (Moldavian Horticulture and Grape Growing) will be changed to POMIKULTURA, VITIKULTURA SHI VINIFIKATSIYA MOLDOVEY (Moldavian Horticulture, Grape Growing, and Winemaking). The MSSR Agricultural Industry Union will look into the possibility, prior to 31 December 1989, of locating the editorial offices of AGRIKULTURA MOLDOVEY and POMIKULTURA, VITIKULTURA SHI VINIFIKATSIYA MOLDOVEY in their departmental buildings.

It was decided to adopt the proposal of the MSSR Ministry of Public Education for establishment of its organ in 1990, the magazine SHTIINTSELE SOCHIALE DE SHI ISTORIYA YN INSTITUTSIILE DE YNVETSEMYNT (Social Sciences and History in Educational Institutions), in Moldavian and Russian, consisting of four printer's sheets, six issues per year. Its content should be determined by questions of restructuring the teaching of history and the social sciences, and involve teaching-methods assistance for the teaching community on these problems.

It was decided to adopt the proposal of the MSSR Ministry of Public Education to institute, beginning in 1990, yet another organ, the magazine EDUKATSIYA PRESHKOLARE (Pre-School Education) in Moldavian and Russian, consisting of four printer's sheets, six issues per year. This publication is intended to provide information on methods used in education and training in pre-school institutions and within the family.

It was decided to adopt the proposal of the MSSR Journalists' Union to institute, beginning in 1990, the teaching methods bulletin ZHURNALISTUL MOLDOVEY (Moldavian Journalist) in Moldavian and Russian, eight pages in one-fourth PRAVDA format, six issues per year. This publication is intended to provide information on restructuring the activity of journalist collectives, to publicize the experience of creative-organizational work done by editorial offices and show their participation in dealing with the urgent problems involved in the renewal of society.

In accordance with the 26 May 1987 resolution of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party and MSSR Council of Ministers "On Improving Conditions in the Activity of Creative Unions in the Moldavian SSR," it was decided beginning in 1990:

—to institute the illustrated quarterly magazine ARTA MOLDOVEY (Art of Moldavia) as the organ of the Ministry of Culture and the creative unions of the Moldavian SSR, in Moldavian and Russian, with five standard printer's sheets. This publication is intended to provide information on matters of Moldavian Soviet art, on the development of all its varieties and genres, and on the role of the creative unions in the renewal of spiritual life;

—to institute the information and advertisement bulletin MOLDOVA TEATRALE (Theater in Moldavia), a publication of the Union of Theater Artists and the MSSR Ministry of Culture, in Moldavian and Russian, with two standard printer's sheets, six issues per year. Its content should be determined by matters of the restructuring of theatrical art, analysis of the classical and contemporary repertoire of theatrical collectives, and questions regarding enhancement of their role in the esthetic and moral education of our contemporaries;

—to increase by three standard printer's sheets the size of the literary-artistic and sociopolitical magazines NISTRU and KODRY, intended to assist the development of Moldavian Soviet literature and effect its widespread dissemination within the multinational Soviet readership, to expand contacts with the fraternal literatures of the peoples of the USSR, to deeply analyze the literary-artistic process, and to support talented people who are starting out in the literary field;

—beginning in 1991 to change the anthology MERIDIANE into a magazine of literature translated into Moldavian. It will be the organ of the MSSR Writers' Union, consisting of 22 standard printer's sheets and published twice per year. The chief task of this publication is to facilitate the processes of mutual influence and mutual enrichment between Moldavian Soviet literature and the literatures of the fraternal union republics, to facilitate development of international literary features, to straighten out the business of translating in the republic and coordinate the creative efforts of translators, involving the most highly skilled literary authorities in this matter.

It was decided, beginning in 1990, to increase the size of the magazine STELUTSA (Little Star) by one printer's sheet. This publication is intended to provide more intensive coverage of matters concerning the moral and esthetic education of the rising generation, to imbue in our children the lofty civic qualities of patriotism and internationalism.

It was decided, beginning in 1991, to initiate a quarterly supplement to STELUTSA in the Gagauz language (YILDYZ) and one in Bulgarian (ZVIZDICHKA), half a printer's sheet in size, intended for pre-school children.

It was decided to adopt the proposal of the Central Committee Publishing House of the Moldavian Communist Party, beginning in 1990, to publish in Moldavian as well the weekly advertisement and information supplement REKLAMA to the newspaper KISHINEU GAZETE DE SYARE (Evening Kishinev).

It was decided to add to the job listing approved by the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party job positions for the publications being instituted and reorganized by this resolution.

Circulation of the newspapers YNVETSEMYNTUL PUBLIK SHI KULTURA MOLDOVEY (Public Education and Culture of Moldavia), VOCHYA POPORULUY (Voice of the People), MOLDOVA LITERARE, and GLASUL, of the magazines EDUKATSIYA PRESHKOLARE (Pre-School Education), SHTIINTSELE SOCHIALE SHI ISTORIYA YN INSTITUTSIILE DE YNVETSEMYNT (Social Sciences and History in Educational Institutions), ARTA MOLDOVEY (Art of Moldavia), MOLDOVA TEATRALE (Theater in Moldavia), and MERIDIANE, will be the responsibility of the MSSR Ministry of Communications and will be accomplished through subscription and retail sales.

The ideological department of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party will be directed to study the question and introduce proposals concerning procedure for re-publishing rayon newspapers in the Ukrainian language in rayons where citizens of Ukrainian nationality reside.

The financial and managerial aspects of departmental and branch publication organs will be handled by their publishers.

Determination of the monthly funds for pay and salary outlays for employees, editors' incentive funds, and writers' honoraria for newspapers and magazines being initiated or reorganized will be guided by the appropriate resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee.

The publishing house of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party (V.D. Lanchu) and the MSSR State Committee of the Council of Ministers for Publications (I.I. Leshanu) will ensure timely and high-quality issue of the above-mentioned publications.

The ideological department of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party will augment its supervision of the execution of party requirements demanded of the mass media, will improve media coordination and journalists' level of information, will promote increased authority for publishing organs and facilitate their active engagement in the formation of public opinion, overcoming contradictions which arise, and will promote the consolidation of all social forces in the republic.

Ryzhkov Discusses Construction in Ukraine

LD2612114889 Kiev in English to North America 0030 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Upon the request of Valentina Shevchenko, USSR people's deputy and president of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Nikolay Rhzhkov, Soviet prime minister, received her and a group of party and economic executives from the Kiev region responsible for construction of the town Slavutich where the personnel of the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station reside. The current state of the town's construction, which is slowing down lately because of various reasons, was analyzed during the constructive conversation.

Also adopted were the decisions directed at development and acceleration of construction of all the objects in the town.

Crimean Executive Group Chairman Elected

LD2812183789 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 1845 GMT 27 Dec

[Text] A session of the Crimean Oblast soviet was held today. It discussed an organizational question: Roshchupkin was released from the post of chairman of the oblast executive committee at his request, in connection with retirement on pension.

The new chairman was elected on an alternative basis. Nominated for the post were Kapshuk, secretary of the Crimean Oblast party committee, and Kurasyk, first deputy chairman of the oblast executive committee. By secret ballot, Kurasyk was elected chairman of the oblast executive committee.

Ukraine Nationalities Commission Meets

90UN0530C Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 30 Nov 89 p 3

[Text] The first meeting of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Interethnic Relations Commission has been held. It was opened by Commission Chairman Yu.N. Yelchenko, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. He described the nature and main directions of its activity.

It was emphasized that its formation was an important step forward in realization of the guidelines of the CPSU Central Committee's September (1989) Plenum. Opportunities are afforded for the more extensive enlistment of members and candidates of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and members of the Ukrainian Communist Party Auditing Commission in active work in this crucial area.

The commission's members will participate in the analysis and elaboration of individual most urgent questions on the implementation of the party's nationality policy and the formulation of proposals for the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. Working subdivisions will be formed, if necessary, from the commission members. This will make it possible to take public opinion and the interests of various national groups more fully into consideration.

Comrade N.A. Shulga, member of the commission and deputy head of a Central Committee department, delivered a report on the main directions of the work of the Interethnic Relations and Patriotic and International Education Department of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. The speech dealt with the legal, socioeconomic, and cultural aspects of national relations and improvement of the republic's state arrangement with regard for the multinational composition of its population.

The question of the importance of providing for the representation of national groups in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet and the local soviets of people's deputies also was examined.

A plan of the commission's work for the first 6 months of next year was approved.

Meetings of other Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee commissions also were held. They discussed the draft platform and appeal of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee "To All Voters of the Soviet Ukraine".

Ukrainian Electoral Commission Meets 24 Nov

WA2712200489 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 25 Nov 89 p 1

[Text] A meeting of the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] People's Deputies was held yesterday, 24 November.

The question of the completion of the formation of okrug electoral commissions was studied. It was observed that candidates for them had been nominated in an atmosphere of glasnost and on the basis of choice. Some 450 commissions incorporated 6,063 members altogether. They included 1,945 workers and kolkhoz [collective farm] members and 2,601 women. Some 4,025 members and candidates of the CPSU and 2,038 nonparty persons, including 624 VLKSM [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] members, will work on the commissions.

The Central Electoral Commission approved a letter to the okrug electoral commissions containing recommendations pertaining to specific issues of the preparation and organization of the elections of UkSSR [Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic] people's deputies with regard for the provisions of new legislation. The forms of the ballot papers and other electoral papers and also the model ballot box were approved. The meeting commented on a number of articles of electoral law on which the Central Electoral Commission is receiving questions from the localities, specifically concerning the procedure of the nomination of candidates for UkSSR people's deputy and others. It was decided to convey the comments on these questions to the public at large via the media.

Having received the report of V.I. Delikatnyy, minister of communications of the UkSSR, the Central Electoral Commission recommended that the ministry speed up work on organizing the Central Electoral Commission's 24-hour telephone and telegraph communications with the okrug commissions, and of the okrug electoral commissions, with the neighborhood commissions, and provide for the timely delivery of election documents.

In respect of the information of V.I. Shamray, deputy chairman of the UkSSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and Book Trade, it was recommended that the okrug electoral commissions monitor the state of readiness of the printing plants for the issuance of ballot papers and leaflets containing biographical information on the candidates for deputy and their provision with paper, the necessary materials and so forth.

The work schedule of the Central Electoral Commission for December 1989 was confirmed.

A number of other questions connected with the preparations for the elections were examined.

Senior officials of republic ministries and departments and representatives of the news media were present at the meeting of the Central Electoral Commission.

Ukrainian SSR Supreme Court Holds Plenum

90UN0493B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 25 Nov 89 p 3

[Text] The question of the activity of the republic's courts in respect of the application of legislation geared to the prevention of recidivist crime was studied at a Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Court plenum chaired by A.N. Yakimenko.

It was observed that a complex crime-producing atmosphere had taken shape and that the number of serious crimes and also crimes against the person and citizens' personal property had been increasing in the republic of late. Nor is recidivist crime among minors diminishing.

In this atmosphere the courts, in whose activity there are still many shortcomings, have an important part to play in the fight against crime. These shortcomings are connected with a slackening of exactingness toward the quality of the material of the inquiry and pretrial investigation and the prescription in a number of cases of unjustifiably mild measures of punishment for persons who have committed repeat crimes.

The courts do not always, when hearing cases, react to the shortcomings in the work of the local authorities, enterprises, public organizations and workforce in respect of work and social arrangements for persons released from places of confinement and educational work with them.

The courts, the participants in the plenum observed, must not allow leniency in respect of persons who have committed repeat crimes and are obliged to approach with the maximum strictness the sentencing of recidivists and persons who are persistently unwilling to accustom themselves to an honest working life. When hearing the cases of crimes involving minors, the courts are obliged to ascertain the role of the adults, particularly recidivists, in the enlistment of the adolescents in criminal activity or in disposing them to drunkenness, drug addiction and other offenses and, if necesary, pose the question of the institution of the proceedings provided for by the law against such persons.

The plenum also heard information on the question of the practice of examination by the republic's courts of criminal cases in courts of appeal.

The republic Supreme Court plenum called the attention of the oblast and Kiev city courts to the need for the adoption of supplementary measures to improve the quality of the examination of criminal cases in courts of appeal, ensuring strict compliance with legality in their activity.

The plenum studied other questions and also protests in respect of individual criminal cases, on the rehabilitation of persons unlawfully convicted in the 1930's and 1940's included.

Ukrainian SSR Procurator P.G. Osipenko took part in the plenum.

Ukrainian KGB, Media Discuss Rehabilitation

90UN0402B WA2212152789 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 19 Nov 89 p 2

[RATAU report "Meeting at UkSSR KGB"]

[Text] A meeting in Kiev of leadership of the KGB of the republic with journalists, writers, scientists, representatives of public organizations, USSR people's deputies, and deputies of the Ukrainian SSR [Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet was dedicated to activities of government security organs in rehabilitating persons who were illegally repressed during the period of the cult of personality. This meeting was the first of a planned series of measures to inform the general public about the activities of the Ukrainian SSR KGB and its local organs.

It was noted that in 1988-1989 coworkers of the committee studied 112,000 cases of repressed citizens which had been examined in a non-judicial manner. With participation of KGB workers a number of burial places were located of those who perished during the time of the cult of personality. Data on this were given to a governmental commission, groups of deputies and mass information media.

The Chairman of UkSSR KGB N.M. Golushko and the Chairman of the Commission of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet on cooperation in protection of rights and interests of those rehabilitated and on creation of monuments to the victims of repression A.P. Lyashko spoke at the meeting.

Participants in the meeting became acquainted with certain archival materials pertaining to repressed citizens. Answers were given to their questions.

New Ukrainian Minister of Health Named

90UN0525A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 11 Nov 89 p 1

[Text] The Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

To appoint Comrade Yuriy Prokofyevich Spizhenko minister of health of the UkSSR [Ukrainian SSR].

[Signed] V. Shevchenko, chairman of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
N. Khomenko, secretary of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
Kiev, 10 November 1989.

Yuriy Prokofyevich Spizhenko, Minister of Health of the UkSSR

Yu.P. Spizhenko, a Ukrainian, was born in 1950, is a member of the CPSU and has higher education—he graduated in 1973 from the Chernovtsy Medical Institute and is a candidate of medical sciences.

He worked in medical institutions of Zhitomir Oblast as a surgeon and chief physician and head of the oblast health department. As of December 1986 he has been deputy minister of health of the UkSSR.

The UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has relieved Comrade A.Ye. Romanenko of his duties of minister of health of the UkSSR in connection with his transfer to scientific work.

Yerevan Updates Railroad Situation in Armenia

NC2912103189 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Excerpts] The press center of the Yerevan branch of the Transcaucasian Railway has announced that trains are being unloaded at Leninakan and Arevik stations slowly. On 27 December, 330 freight cars were unloaded in these stations, but 419 cars were not unloaded. In Bayandur Station, [in Leninakan] 39 cars were unloaded, but 20 were not unloaded. This is causing delays in the city's restoration and construction work. [passage omitted] The Leninakan city party executive committee is inefficient in organizing and supervising the unloading work. Ministries, departments, and the directors of the industrial enterprises are paying insufficient attention to improving this vital operation in Yerevan station; the Spitak rayon party committee also has a similar attitude. Each day, over 2,000 freight cars are unloaded at Armenia's stations. [passage omitted]

Army Units Accused of Favoring Azeris in NKAO

NC2912070989 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1900 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Article by journalist Musheg Bagdasaryan: "Blockade"]

[Excerpts] The former Sumgait residents now working in Stepanakert enterprises are unable to visit their parents, children, and wives living in [village names indistinct] and in other Armenian villages because the small Azeri village Manibeklu—known as Begi Aparank in Armenian—cut the Stepanakert-Martuni road, the only vital road connecting Stepanakert with the rayon centers. Who provided assistance and and who gave permission? The army units brought here to protect the security of the mountainous oblast's population and who live off this population.

These army units staunchly and actively intervene to help the Azeri villages obtain everyday foodstuffs, fuel, construction materials, and medicine. Yet these same soldiers surrounded a helicopter from Yerevan in the besieged Armenian village Bertadzor at the beginning of November; the helicopter's (?student pilots), who were born in Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO)] and had come to assist their parents and compatriots, were detained and [words indistinct]. The same thing happened to another helicopter from Yerevan and landed at [name indistinct]; the crew was bringing flour and sugar to their native (Hakhorti) village.

The soldiers ensure the security of the freight trucks and passenger cars commuting between Agdam-Shushi-Lachin day and night, but they are unable to guarantee the security of the vehicles going to Stepanakert on the same road. The solitary Azeri village of Karadaglu surrounded by [names indistinct] villages has by itself blockaded seven Armenian villages. If you try to enter the village, the alert troops deployed around the village will stop you. Yet these troops fail to notice that the phone lines connecting an entire sub-rayon with Stepanakert are being cut in broad daylight. [passage omitted]

Those who have superficial knowledge of the blockade of Artsakh, including people at the highest goverment levels, think that the economic blockade involves only foodstuffs, fuel, and other goods. This blockade aims at condemning the population to starvation to attain certain political goals. But this goal is in vain, because the blockade means nothing to the NKAO population. This land of eagles has seen many such blockades during its thousands of years of history but has never surrendered and has never despaired. [passage omitted]

There are almost 20,000 Armenian refugees in Stepanakert alone. Refugees include families with up to eight children living in a guest house and [word indistinct] who go without any wages. The Azeri Social Security Ministry takes one year to transfer pension documents of the former Armenian residents of Baku. [passage indistinct] But those who left Armenia for Azerbaijan—about whom the Azeri leadership talk so much—are in more comfortable and fully furnished Armenian residences with proper addresses. They left behind more uncomfortable and empty dwellings in their former areas of residence. [passage omitted]

The blockade is disrupting the work of providing houses for the refugees who have come to Stepanakert. For many months now, no construction material, sand, and cement have been brought to the construction sites. And when the first freight cars finally arrived in Stepanakert, they remained unloaded for a few days due to lack of fuel. [passage omitted]

Distribution of Newspaper at Congress Protested

*NC2212102389 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1700 GMT 20 Dec 89*

[Appeal by Azerbaijani deputies against distribution of Armenian newspaper KOMMUNIST at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies]

[Text] To the Presidium of the Congress of the USSR People's Deputies:

Irrespective of the call made by the congress in connection with the inadmissibility of the distribution of unofficial materials, a very large number of copies of KOMMUNIST, the organ of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, dated 16 December 1989, were distributed to the deputies despite the (?objection of the) secretariat of the congress. An interview with a person who said that his name was [name indistinct] and that he was a member of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan was published in the newspaper under the heading: "The Caucasus Region Is on Fire."

KOMMUNIST has insidiously used the (?untruthful) views expressed by a person who is not known to anyone in Azerbaijan to further aggravate nationalist passions and increase the machinations and slanders against Azerbaijan. The publication of materials by the organ of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee which cast a slur on the honor and dignity of the people of Azerbaijan makes us angry. We wish to give a few examples: Azerbaijan has always helped Turkey and acted as its instrument in acts of savagery against the Armenians in general and the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh in particular. This is still the case now. We say that Azerbaijan, taking its big brother, Turkey, as an example, is trying to crush the Armenians completely.

All the editions of this party newspaper are full of disgusting calumnies of this kind.

The USSR people's deputies from Azerbaijan are resolutely opposed to the publication of slanderous materials and to the ill-intentioned dissemination of these materials.

Azerbaijan Response to Karabakh Decree

*90US0297A Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY
in Russian 1 Dec 89 p 1*

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has issued the resolution "Tasks of the Republic's Party, State and Public Organizations in Connection With the USSR Supreme Soviet Decree 'Measures To Normalize the Situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast'."

It is noted that the USSR Supreme Soviet decree "Measures To Normalize the Situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast" issued on 28 November 1989 is an important document which guarantees the sovereignty of the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] in the autonomous oblast and is geared to an end to national discord, the further socioeconomic development of the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] and an improvement in relations between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples.

The USSR Supreme Soviet decree provides for a set of measures pertaining to the normalization of the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, the restoration of the organs of power and administration and their functioning under the new conditions. Continuation of the NKAO Special Administration Committee is deemed expedient; a republic organizational committee for the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is to be formed.

The decree of the country's Supreme Soviet sets the party and state authorities and the entire people of the AzSSR [Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic] an extraordinarily critical task pertaining to normalization of the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

The Central Committee Bureau has instructed the Central Committee departments and the party committees to draw up and implement organizational-political measures pertaining to realization of the tasks ensuing from the USSR Supreme Soviet decree of 28 November 1989. Meetings on this question will be held in all primary party organizations. Particular attention is being paid to the increased responsibility of each communist for a normalization of interethnic relations, fulfillment of the requirements of the USSR Statutes concerning implementation of the ideas of internationalism and an intensification of the struggle against nationalist manifestations. Emphatically rebuffing the attempts of extremist, separatist forces to ignite national discord and frustrate the process of a recovery of the social and political situation in the region.

Members and candidates of the Central Committee and members of the Auditing Commission of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, officials of the Central Committee machinery, ministry and department leaders and representatives of the scientific and artistic intelligentsia are being sent to the cities and rayons to render the party committees practical assistance in this work.

It is noted that with the creation of the republic Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Organizational Committee the NKAO Special Administration Committee will be liquidated.

The content of the entire practical activity of the republic organizational committee is the accomplishment of the task set by the USSR Supreme Soviet pertaining to normalization of the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, the restoration of trust and cooperation between the Azerbaijani and Armenian populations and the organization of the oblast's successful economic and cultural development.

The party committees, city and rayon soviet executive committees, the Azerbaijan Railroad Administration, the Civil Aviation Administration, the Ministry of Motor Transport and freight-shipping ministries and departments are instructed to adopt decisive measures providing for the uninterrupted operation of transport on republic territory and the timely shipment of freight and pertaining to the prevention of the blocking of highways.

The return to their native parts and provision with amenities of refugees from NKAO localities is recognized as a most important task. The formation of a special commission under the the auspices of the republic organizational committee is provided for to this end.

The republic's law enforcement authorities are instructed to adopt decisive measures to put a stop to lawlessness and unlawful actions and to react sharply to each instance of the kindling of national enmity and the coercion of people into anti-social actions disorganizing production and normal life. Instances of the inflammatory and provocative activity of extremist and corrupt elements and the moral and material damage which they cause must be made public and receive public condemnation.

The Azerbaijan Council of Trade Unions, Azerbaijan LKSM [Leninist Communist Youth League] Central Committee and trade union, Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] and other public organizations of the republic must adopt measures to restore ties with the corresponding organizations of the autonomous oblast, organize joint efforts for overcoming the interethnic conflict, improve the living conditions of the whole NKAO population and solve refugee problems.

Central Committee departments, the AzSSR Council of Ministers, the republic NKAO Organizational Committee, oblast party and soviet organizations and ministries and departments and associations and enterprises of the republic are instructed to adopt measures to ensure the unconditional fulfillment of all assignments stipulated by decree 160 of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic Council of Ministers of 26 April 1988 "Measures To Accelerate the Socioeconomic Development of the AzSSR's Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast in the Period 1988-1995." To take account in full in the plans for 1990 and in the 13th Five-Year Plan of the implementation of a whole set of measures for the active development of the productive forces of the autonomous oblast and the solution of social problems of each of its localities. The organization of sponsorship on the part of cities of the republic of areas of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is envisaged.

The party committees and primary party organizations of the NKAO are instructed to draw up and implement specific measures pertaining to a normalization of the situation in the oblast in accordance with this resolution.

The republic newspapers, the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the Azerinform are called upon to actively explain the tasks ensuing from the USSR Supreme Soviet decree and to publish to this end the speeches of deputies, figures of science and culture and representatives of the public of different nationalities and extensively and constantly notify the population of the progress of implementation of the scheduled program of normalization of the situation in the oblast and the activity of the republic NKAO Organizational Committee.

Central Committee departments, the republic Council of Ministers, party committees, the Azerbaijan Council of Trade Unions, the Azerbaijan LKSM Central Committee, ministries and departments and public organizations are obliged in accordance with the recommendations of the USSR Supreme Soviet to implement measures for the normalization of relations between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples, restoration of an atmosphere of trust and cooperation and the establishment of normal economic and cultural relations and to stimulate work on fulfillment of the joint measures of the AzSSR and the Armenian SSR on these questions.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee has called on the communists and all working people of the republic to embark with profound understanding on the accomplishment of the tasks set by the USSR Supreme Soviet pertaining to a normalization of the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and a restoration of good relations between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples, peace and the tranquil life of our people.

Azerbaijan Condemns U.S. 'Interference' in NKAO

WA2212153389 Baku BAKINSKY RABOCHIY in Russian 21 Nov 89 p 3

[Article by Sh. Azadov: "Under the Pressure of the Armenian Diaspora"]

[Text] It was not so long ago that J. Matlock, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States, met in Baku with the representatives of the Azerbaijani mass media. When he was asked about the resolution that the U.S. Senate passed on the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] he assured us: "As for the resolution of the Senate I would say that the Senate and the House of Representatives, of course, pass many resolutions. They are not legislation, they are not binding. They only express the opinions of some senators. Of course, they take a vote but most of the senators do not pay much attention to it because this is not a bill. It is not a secret that we, in the United States, have more citizens of Armenian, than of Azerbaijani descent. So it is natural that the senators listen to those in their constituency who are of Armenian descent. But this does not define the policy of the United States."

And later the respected ambassador had to admit: "Of course, it was a mistake. We know that we are only observers, that it is none of our business, and that we should not direct, formally or informally, what the solution might be."

Everything seemed to become clear: The Armenian diaspora, with the help of its influential patron, the not unknown Robert Dole, rendered some pressure, maybe even paid—being quite rich—and the Senate rubber-stamped the decision not knowing what it was about. But as it turned out, things did not develop quite that way.

According to TASS, on Sunday USSR First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs A. A. Bessmertnykh invited Mr J. Matlock, the U.S. Ambassador, and presented him with a statement about the resolution passed by the U.S. Senate Foreign Affairs Committee on the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. This official document sets out "claims" and "demands" to the Soviet side; it attempts unceremoniously to point out to the Soviet side what the solution of this entirely internal problem should be as seen by the U.S. authorities.

It seems that Charles Aznavour was not too far from the truth when he was orating at the dinner that he threw in his own honor in the "Continental" Hotel in Paris. He was complacently holding forth on the subject that "the U.S. presidents, Arab sheiks, Argentinian latifundios owners and West European millionaires—all listen to the Armenian community." The only thing that the artiste left modestly unmentioned was the influence exerted on American senators by the money bags of the Armenian diaspora; a diaspora that has its own lobby in the democratic U.S. parliament which cannot be bought. Thus transpires the not surprising origin of the resolution on NKAO which was met by the USSR Government with such a decisive and unequivocal protest. The USSR Government regarded it as an attempt of gross interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union.

Now let us consider for a minute: What is the Armenian diaspora in the United States? First of all, of course, it is an old anti-Soviet organization "Dashnaktsutyun". As early as in the beginning of this century many sons of Armenia labelled it as the "worst enemy of the Armenian people." And now this "worst enemy" participated as either a sponsor or an honorary guest in the recent congress of the Armenian All-National Movement in Yerevan. By the way, this congress met in the building of the House of Political Education of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

A letter that AZERINFORM got recently from Ernie Gay Tezkon, an American, will also help to answer the question. He read a letter from a group of Azerbaijani journalists published in the October 19 issue of the NEW YORK TIMES and wrote to us: "There are many "loud-mouthed" representatives of the Armenian lobby in the U.S. Congress and there is a number of Armenian-American organizations which try to achieve their goals by all means even by falsification. Armenian businessmen create various organizations and spread rumors about the sufferings of "poor" Armenians. The Armenian nationalists influenced the American people into thinking that the Armenians are victims exposed to rough treatment by their neighbor."

And the final note. Recently the mayor of our city N. Karakashly was in France where he wanted to meet the mayor of one of the French cities and to conclude some concrete agreements with him. The latter tried to evade the conversation, but when the meeting did take place he admitted that he was prepared to be friendly with our city but could not conclude any agreements on business cooperation. The reason that he gave was that the financial big shots in the city being Armenian would not want to have any business dealings with Baku. And the mayor himself could lose not only his post but his business also if he displayed "independent thinking." As they say, no comments are needed. Let us not get more involved in the discussion of the "omnipotent" Armenian diaspora. We just would like to say that a decision taken under any pressure even that of influential Armenian money-bags does not do any credit to the U.S. Senate which calls itself the most democratic and independent. Its interference into the internal affairs of another state seems even less honorable. As it is expressed in the statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, under the present conditions it contradicts the elementary norms of the international law and can also cause destabilization, it can bring new sufferings to people at the time when there is a noticeable tendency towards regulating the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh. Is this the purpose that the U.S. Senate had in mind?

Azerbaijan People's Front Defends Blockades

90US0230A Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 31 Oct 89 p 3

[Interview with V. Kuliyev, Member of the People's Front of Azerbaijan, by V. Rovda: "Blockade? There Is No Other Way Out"; date and place not specified; reprinted by KOMMUNIST from the newspaper SMENA, 14 October 1989]

[Text] [Rovda] Vilayat, you called us on the day the newspaper (SMENA, 29 September 1989) with the interview by Robert Kocharyan "Blockaded Artsakh" was published.

[Kuliyev] After all, you noted yourselves in the editorial note that the truth as told by one side is a half-truth. This is why I wanted to supplement it all.

However, the title of this interview, "Blockaded Artsakh," troubles me. First of all, to the mind of every Leningrader, the blockade is associated with Fascism. Philistines may think that we are Fascists since we are now blockading Karabakh. Secondly, why in the world Artsakh? This is a thought-up name. Karabakh is known the world over as Karabakh.

Kocharyan says that the blockade began 1.5 years ago. Indeed, the blockade began then. However, the point was that when our people brought in the freight the Armenians refused to unload the cars: "We will accept nothing from Azerbaijan."

In June of this year, it was the Armenian side that began to block the road which leads to the mountainous areas of Azerbaijan only through the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast].

[Rovda] Do you believe that something absolutely opposite to what Robert Kocharyan described is going on in Karabakh?

[Kuliyev] Indeed, the blockade was actually started by the Armenian population. At present, the NKAO is blockaded by Azerbaijan, and Azeri villages are blockaded by Armenians.

[Rovda] Are there several layers of the blockade?

[Kuliyev] Yes, like... in a pie. Here is the Nakhichevan ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] which belongs to the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] but is separated from it by Armenia. Here is the Azerbaijan Railroad serving Armenia—87% of the freight stream for it goes through our republic. Forty-three km of the railroad run through Armenia. Beginning on 8 August, they began to pelt the trains with stones. There were two attempts to blow up the railway track in the course of which one Armenian even died. They wanted to blockade Nakhichevan; after all, they claim it, too, and consider it their territory.

In protest, the railroad personnel refused to work demanding to be given an opportunity to work in safety. As early as the beginning of September, the People's Front of Azerbaijan made the demand to establish an economic blockade of Armenia.

[Rovda] You do not belong to the leading organs of the People's Front; you are its rank-and-file member. Still, I will ask you this question: How could the NFA [People's Front of Azerbaijan] give this order to begin the blockade?

[Kuliyev] Because there no longer is another way out. I am not saying that we are angels and they are not. The point is that first they began to expel from Armenia my fellow Azeris. They were persecuted in the most cruel manner. People were forcibly evicted by the militia. Their effects and assets were destroyed. They were killed. These 200,000 settled here more than just a year or two ago; after all, they are the indigenous population. In Karabakh, there are 50,000 Azeris at present. However, after the earthquake in Armenia the stream of Armenians to the NKAO began to increase; this year, the number of Armenians increased to 130,000.

[Rovda] What are the conditions on which the NFA will call for the blockade to be lifted? Can it be overcome in a manner of state?

[Kuliyev] Railroad employees may be arrested. A hundred or a thousand people may be arrested, but not the entire people. The people demand that Armenia and us have good neighborly relations without any expansionist designs and territorial claims. If the NKAO issue is no more, the blockade will be lifted too.

[Rovda] You live in Baku, don't you?

[Kuliyev] Yes, but I come from Karabakh. I graduated in my native area, and at the age of 17 went to Baku in order to enter college. Therefore, I can testify that previously the people lived together and in friendship and communicated with each other regardless of nationality. In Stepanakert, 10,000 Azeris used to live. Now you will not find a single one. All of them have been expelled. There have been and are villages where we live side by side. However, a strict line has now been drawn; we do not communicate.

[Rovda] What was the pretext for the clashes?

[Kuliyev] The clashes began when the Armenians began to demand that the NKAO secede from the Azerbaijan SSR. However, I and all of us also consider Karabakh to be our native land.

Assuming that the NKAO is ceded to Armenia tomorrow (of course, this is ruled out; I speak as an ordinary person rather than as a representative of the People's Front and the Azeri intellectuals) a bloody war may begin. Nobody knows how this might end. If this land is transferred to Armenia they will run all Azeris out of it within a year or two.

[Rovda] What can you say about Armenians being run out of Nakhichevan where they accounted for no less than a half of the population?

[Kuliyev] It is just that Armenians like to engage in commerce, so they left. I would not say that there were attempts to run them out by the Azeris.

[Rovda] That is to say, you believe that they abandoned their native land themselves and went away to engage in trade?

[Kuliyev] Yes, it is just that their life was hard there. This is an austere land. Even now people over there do not live well.

[Rovda] Are they Armenians?

[Kuliyev] No, at present 300,000 Azeris live in Nakhichevan, However, Nakhichevan is pure hell compared to Karabakh which is a heavenly place. All they have are vineyards. On top of that, they produce salt there, and there are mineral springs....

After all, there is such a thing as migration of the populace. Let us say that at the beginning of this century Azeris accounted for 85 percent of the population of Yerevan. At present, there is not a single Azeri there. The point is that our own republic was born, our own center in Baku appeared. This is part of the reason why the people moved.

[Rovda] Previously, the "corridor" between Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh was populated by the Kurds. However, during the years of Stalin's rule they became victims of genocide and disappeared.

[Kuliyev] No, there are Kurdish villages here, especially in Lachinskiy Rayon. However, the Kurds have been assimilated completely. This happened even before Stalin.

[Rovda] Have they been absorbed by the mass of the Azeri populace?

[Kuliyev] Yes, because we belong to the same faith. Along with Moslem Curds, there are also Christian Kurds, the Yezids. They live mainly in Armenia and Georgia. Over there, they have preserved the language, they even have their own Kurdish literature. In our parts, they are not even officially called Kurds. As I see it, the Kurdish issue is being created artificially in order to eliminate this very "corridor" and connect the NKAO directly to Armenia.

[Rovda] Vilayat, you said that the Kurds belong to the same religion. You obviously mean Islam. Personally, I am a non-believer but I respect the adherents of both Christianity and Islam. It was all the more unpalatable to find out that your Moslem brethren praised the Allah after the earthquake in Armenia for punishing "the infidels."

[Kuliyev] These are mostly rumors. Indeed, in the Vremya program they also announced that in Baku the people went out into the streets and came close to sounding the tomtoms. This is nonsense, this did not happen. To be sure, I do not rule out isolated cases.... After all, in that same Spitak Rayon before the earthquake they forcibly evicted the Azeris from their homes of many years; there even were fatalities. The relatives of these people could have been happy for God punishing someone when the earthquake struck. Our Central Committee and our people were the first to offer their condolences. We were the first to send our trains there; our engineers did not sleep for days on end.

[Rovda] Why did you then block the railroad this time around and left the areas affected without freight if you helped Armenia on that occasion? Foreign specialists are leaving, unfinished homes and hospitals are left standing.... The freight for Leninakan and Spitak arrives damaged or not at all. People are left homeless, and the winter is virtually upon us. There are no foodstuffs. How can the desire to help and the striving to harm be reconciled?

[Kuliyev] We offered our helping hand but came to understand soon that our noble attitude is not at all appreciated by the other side. They either take us for fools or believe that Moscow will command and we will always obey.

In short, the attacks and insults by the Armenians continued. People were killed in both the NKAO and Armenia.

[Rovda] Doesn't it seem to you that the demand for the economic blockade made by the People's Front of Azerbaijan is an extremist, incorrect one? Why is it supported by the party and state authorities of your republic?

[Kuliyev] We cannot say that they support it. It is just that they are powerless in this situation, they cannot do anything. After all, it is not even the People's Front, it is our entire people that has arisen.

[Rovda] Do you believe that you will never again live in peace with the Armenians?

[Kuliyev] No. Perhaps, the Armenians have come to this conclusion. For example, your recent interlocutor, Robert Kocharyan, says, among other things, that the National Council of Nagorno-Karabakh (incidentally, this council has been "outlawed" by the Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet) envisages the most rapid possible integration of the economy of the NKAO with the economy of Armenia. However, over 70 years it has become intertwined with the economy of Azerbaijan. If this people indeed wants to live next to us why sever all contacts?

[Rovda] However, at present you are the ones chopping off all roots: You have blocked the railroad, the highways. The freight is not coming to all of Armenia as well, not just Nagorno-Karabakh. What are the central newspapers discussing? The critical situation in Armenia, the shortage of foodstuffs, construction materials, and raw materials for factories and plants.

[Kuliyev] Indeed, there has been quite a racket; it is an entire campaign. However, there is no other way out for us. This is the only avenue for protest.

One and a half years ago, they wrote that the Azeri side was at fault, and the Armenian a little bit at fault. This is how it was everywhere in order to have balance. When M.S. Gorbachev was in Yerevan and talked about the Armenian Black Shirts (these are gangs of extremists) he immediately added that there supposedly are the Azeri White Shirts. However, they have never existed.

Later it got even worse: They began to blame only the Azeri side for being close to cannibals.

[Rovda] I do not know whether you can be accused of cannibalism, perhaps, you cannot after all. However, why would not you let another people breathe? This is exactly how I view the blockade foisted on Armenia. Do you disagree with the fact that by blocking all the routes you are choking it off?

[Kuliyev] The Armenians began the blockade themselves by blowing up the rails in Nakhichevan.

[Rovda] Vilayat, you would agree that you cannot take this path yourselves if you consider it criminal.

[Kuliyev] How long can we remain humane if the other party has declared a war on us? Are we to pretend that we are friends?

[Rovda] How did Armenia "declare a war on you?" After all, as far as I know, the residents of Nagorno-Karabakh have but one desire—to secede from Azerbaijan and to join Armenia. Could it be that a compromise is possible, as Robert Kocharyan proposes—to remove Azeri villages from under the jurisdiction of Armenia and the other way around?

[Kuliyev] What is to be done about, say, the Armenians of Baku of whom there are 200,000 in our capital? Where are they to be sent? Do the Armenians have a right to bargain: We will give you your villages, and you give us ours? Karabakh is the land of Azerbaijan, and the entire Azeri people is against the secession of the NKAO. The Armenians have no right to it.

[Rovda] Pardon me, but why don't they if Armenians account for 80 percent of the population of Nagorno-Karabakh? Are they migrants? After all, this is their ancient land, as they say.

[Kuliyev] After all, I have told you that 200,000 Azeris used to live in Armenia, and they also were indigenous population. However, they were expelled. This is point one. Secondly, Nagorno-Karabakh is an artificial expression: There has not been either "mountain" or "lowland" Karabakh. There is the large Karabakh Oblast in Azerbaijan. Incidentally, in the 1920's, when the NKAO autonomous entity was created, Azeris lived five to six kilometers away from Karabakh, in the border areas of Armenia, in Zangezur. For its part, the Azeri government set up the autonomous entity for the Armenians proceeding from humane principles: Let them live.

[Rovda] Where have your humane principles gone? After all, you are trying to prove that you are acting in the name of humanity, or at least that you so acted. Why have you forgotten it now? After all, humanity is an eternal trait.

[Kuliyev] We have not forgotten. We agree even now. Personally, I have no hatred for the Armenians. Many others believe so. Let them live—within Azerbaijan, however.

Why then does it not apply to other peoples?

Let us say Estonia will want to secede from the USSR. Let us applaud if it does so—supposedly, this is the correct step. There are hundreds of thousands of Azeris living in Georgia—let us set up an autonomous entity for them! Let us immediately return all Crimean Tatars to the Crimea exiling all Russians and Ukrainians from it....

[Rovda] Why "exile them?" After all, even the Crimean Tatars say that all peoples have to get along in the Crimea.

[Kuliyev] Then let us return the Meskhetian Turks to Georgia. Why should an exception be made only for Armenians?

[Rovda] After all, they live on their own land.

[Kuliyev] No, they are migrants. They settled in Nagorno-Karabakh 150 years ago. A.S. Griboyedov wrote in his time in a memorandum for the vicegerent of the Caucasus that the local Moslems were very much concerned about the Armenians, having taken this land, claiming it in the future. This is exactly how he wrote it.

[Rovda] However, there are ancient Armenian monuments there, their churches?

[Kuliyev] They are not Armenian. Before they arrived, Albanians lived there, who were Christian as well.

[Rovda] Vilayat, let us finish this historical digression, all the more so because both sides have prepared dozens and hundreds of references to archival records and other sources, and each side proves that this is exactly its native land. Let us come back to the present. What is the situation in Azerbaijan at present? How do they treat the Armenians living in Baku?

[Kuliyev] Armenians do not live just in Baku but also in other cities and villages of Azerbaijan. The attitude toward them is quite normal. To be sure, many are leaving. However, I would say that this is a psychological issue. They feel uncomfortable in Azerbaijan.

As far as Baku is concerned, Armenians over there have always lived better than the rest—they are shop owners, mafia, in a word, underground business. They have lived splendidly.

[Rovda] Therefore, you regard Armenians as mafia members?

[Kuliyev] Certainly, there is no such attitude. There are mafia members among both the Armenians and Azeris. Incidentally, they get along just fine.

[Rovda] Why cannot the common people get along? On a personal basis, everyone is a person like any other. However, when it comes to a nation as a whole, there are murders and inhuman acts.

[Kuliyev] I will tell you that I am opposed to this. However, this is not the first time that our peoples have been in opposition like that. To be sure, there were no such conflicts after 1920. We thought that we lived as a single family. Neither us nor them have any intention to lose our land. If we are going to live together it will be better to do so as people rather than as animals.

Unfortunately, many Armenian essayists do not think so. In this reference, I would like to dwell on the so-called Armenian genocide by Turkey. I am not saying this because I am an Armenian hater. It is just that the facts in this issue are juggled.

[Rovda] Two or even more million Armenians were butchered in 1915 and 1916. How else could "the facts be juggled?"

[Kuliyev] First, they said 300,000 died. Later, it was 1 million. Now they say 2 million.

[Rovda] It is the same to me whether 300,000 or 2 million were butchered....

[Kuliyev] We should unearth the mechanics of this genocide. At the time, Turkey was at war with Russia. While the Turks were at the front, the Armenians began to commit outrages in their villages, they began to murder. Incidentally, in recent years many books on atrocities by Armenians have been published in Turkey. There is other testimony as well.

[Rovda] You speak as if you were representing the interests of Turkey.

[Kuliyev] No, I am defending the objective truth. There was no genocide. If we assume this, we should acknowledge the genocide by Armenians with regard to the Turks and the Azeris.

Why am I talking about the genocide in such detail? We, the Azeris, are a Turkic-speaking people, we are Turkic. Since the 1920's, Armenian essayists, journalists, and scientists have equated us with the Turks, Turkey, and the Ottoman Empire. It turns out automatically that we are also guilty of this genocide, that we are the enemy. The Armenian young people are brought up in this spirit.

[Rovda] After all, Vilayat, you are an Oriental studies specialist and a representative of Moslem culture. Tell us what traits the Islam inculcates in people? What are its ethical directives?

[Kuliyev] Despite many people saying at present that it appeals to the cruelty of people, Islam, as well as all world religions, appeals to kindness, humanity, and integrity.

[Rovda] Is this to say that the devil controls the actions of people?

[Kuliyev] In 1906, when there also were clashes between our peoples, our satirical magazine MOLLA NASREDDIN published this cartoon: An Armenian and an Azeri fought, and the devil rejoiced. They made up, and the devil ran away. Therefore, it is possible that there is a devil of sorts, after all.

As far as the people are concerned, myself in particular, for two years now I have not been able to do anything. There is no peace of mind for me if my brother-Azeri is killed somewhere. This is how the Armenians feel, too. People are alike from this point of view.

Editorial Note. Little has changed in Armenia and in Nagorno-Karabakh since the day the article "Blockaded Artsakh" was published.

Indeed, the first trains have passed to Armenia through the Azerbaijan Railroad. However, there are no foodstuffs and medicines in the cars. Ruins on flatcars are all that is left of assembled homes sent to the areas affected by the earthquake. Water has been poured into vessels with cement. The trains which have arrived include many cars carrying air. The main point is that there is not a gram of fuel. Even ambulances are immobilized. In a word, the blockade goes on.

People are dying on both the Armenian and Azeri sides. The fanatics on both sides are reaching for pistols, guns, and grenades.

The conflict between the two peoples is flaring up. The passions were stoked by the resolutions of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet which adopted the law on national sovereignty. Pursuant to the law, a referendum in the entire republic is necessary in order to carry out some territorial changes within Azerbaijan, including the Nakhichevan ASSR and the NKAO. What is this—a lock to prevent the "miatsum," as the Armenians call the unification of Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia which they are demanding?

The editorial office of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, issue No 39 of which carried an interview with the member of the NKAO Special Administration Committee Valeriy Anatolyevich Sidorov (incidentally, our fellow Leningrader), decided to assemble under its auspices the representatives of Armenia and Azerbaijan. We would like to believe that this meeting will be held. To be sure, the Leningrad People's Front made such an attempt as early as July of this year. A delegation of the Leningrad

People's Front went to Armenia and the NKAO where it met with the representatives of the hostile sides and invited them to come to Leningrad for talks.

Representatives of the Armenian nationwide movement and the "Miatsum" Society came from Armenia. Until August 15, the People's Front of Azerbaijan confirmed the arrival of its delegation, but it still did not arrive at the conference of democratic movements and organizations of our country which was held in the city on the Neva: They say that the session of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet interfered with it.

Member of the Coordinating Council of the Leningrad People's Front Mikhail Mikhaylovich Zibert said: "The Leningrad People's Front still hopes that this meeting will be held and continues to do everything possible to this end. The Armenian side is still ready; this is why we appeal to the People's Front of Azerbaijan: The Leningrad Front is ready to facilitate such talks."

Commission on 9 April Tbilisi Events Holds Session

PM2012191989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 16

[TASS report: "Commission Session"]

[Text] The commission set up by the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies to investigate the 9 April events in Tbilisi held a session 14 December at which it heard reports by A.F. Katusev, chief military prosecutor and deputy prosecutor general of the USSR; V.I. Vasilyev, deputy chief military prosecutor; and Yu.M. Bagrayev and V.P. Matus, senior investigators dealing with particularly serious cases at the Main Military Prosecutor's Office.

The commission also examined additional material received after the completion of its work.

Conference Held on Situation in South Ossetia

90US0317A Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 2 Dec 89 p 4

[Report on conference of Georgian Communist Party Central Committee on South Ossetia: "Restoring Order, Increasing Responsibility"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia held a conference with the participation of members of the Central Committee bureau and leaders of law enforcement organs devoted to problems related to the sociopolitical and operational situation that has developed in the South Ossetia Autonomous Republic. The conference was conducted by the first secretary of the Communist Party of Georgia, the chairman of the Presidium of the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, G.G. Gumbaridze.

They heard information from leaders of law enforcement organs concerning measures for stabilizing the sociopolitical situation in the autonomous oblast.

It was noted that as a result of the joint efforts of the republic leaders, law enforcement and local party and soviet organs, social organizations and the region's population, they managed to avoid a dramatic development of events and individual conflicts and excesses did not grow into mass disturbances, the situation was stabilized, and the first signs of normalization appeared, although on the whole the situation continues to be tense. Although party and soviet organs and the forces of the Georgian SSR are fully in control of the situation, in some places, in certain villages, there continue to be antagonistic actions, disorder, and provocations.

The inadequacy of the work for normalizing the situation in the autonomous oblast was pointed out to law enforcement organs. It is necessary for subdivisions of the Georgian militia and leaders of the republic internal affairs organs to be firmer, more principled, and intolerant of any cases of disturbance of order and instigations, they must energetically discover the people who are provoking them, regardless of who they may be, and they must provide for safety of traffic on the roads and guarantee peace in all the population points. At the same time, they must investigate all criminal cases that have already been revealed and all facts and phenomena that preceded the creation of the tension in interethnic relations and its further development efficiently and with maximum objectivity. Special attention should be devoted to systematically informing the population in order to prevent the appearance of a new wave of tension as a result of rumors which are not rare, and everything possible must be done to achieve normalization of the situation in the next few days, to restore peace, and to create the corresponding prerequisites for regulating the misunderstandings among representatives of the two fraternal peoples.

It was noted at the conference that it is necessary to continue the dialog between the two sides even more constructively and intensively and more actively enlist in it representatives of the intelligentsia and social movements so that everyone will feel their personal responsibility for their words and deeds: With each step and each action they must help the republic authorities to quickly restore the traditional rhythm of life and normal, traditional relations between the two peoples.

Demonstration Held in South Ossetia Capital

90US0270A Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 25 Nov 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Toward An Understanding of the Events in Tskhinvali"]

[Text] Several thousand persons headed on 23 November from Tbilisi and a number of other areas of the republic on the initiative of public organizations for Tskhinvali for a mass meeting. The reason for this action was the processes which have been occurring of late in Tskhinvali, particularly the invalid decision adopted by some deputies of the oblast soviet. As is known, these occurrences were appropriately evaluated by the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and a session of the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, and the invalid decisions were annulled by the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium.

G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and other senior officials of the party, soviet and law enforcement authorities were in Tskhinvali on 23 and 24 November in connection with the planned action. Subunits of the forces safeguarding public order were reinforced to prevent possible instances of violence in the region.

The participants in the action subsequently demanded that the meeting be held in the city center, which evoked an extremely negative response on the part of some of the Ossetian population of Tskhinvali. Provocative, unfounded rumors concerning the alleged aggressive frame of mind of the participants in the meeting spread by certain circles created a tense atmosphere of intolerance in the city.

The leadership of the republic performed active explanatory work and conducted multilateral negotiations and a dialogue with representatives of public associations of Tbilisi and Tskhinvali. The leaders of these associations met several times to achieve a concerted solution.

Not far from the city stadium, the assembled participants in the action were addressed by representatives of the People's Front and public movements of Tbilisi and Tskhinvali. The participants in the action also held mass meetings in Gori and Tbilisi.

It should be noted that the participants in the action in Tskhinvali displayed the necessary forbearance and restraint. There were no attempts to resort to violence, and the actions and behavior of the participants in the meetings were of a peaceful nature, on the whole.

Despite the fact that on 23 and 24 November 1989 the situation in Tskhinvali was extremely tense, undesirable complications and excesses were averted by common efforts.

Abkhazians Demonstrate in Tbilisi

90US0216B Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 28 Oct 89 p 4

[Unattributed article: "Action at Rustaveli Avenue"]

[Text] A group of residents of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic have been on a sit-down protest strike in Tbilisi, in front of the Museum of Modern Georgian Fine Arts since the midday of 26 October. One of the participants in this action, Besik Dzholokhava, said in a conversation with GRUZINFORM [Georgian Information Agency] correspondents:

"Our group consists of people of different ages who represent residents of almost all rayons of Abkhazia. The objectives of the action are outlined in our appeal to the leadership of the autonomous republic and Georgia which derives from the dissatisfaction with dragging out measures aimed at bringing the situation in the region back to normal. For example, the law enforcement organs in particular are displaying incomprehensible passivity in confiscating weapons from persons of an extremist disposition regardless of their nationality which may result in destabilizing the situation in both the autonomous republic and Georgia as a whole. In addition, we believe that the investigation of the circumstances of the interethnic conflict is being done in a subjective and biased manner. Very little or nothing is done to expose people of an extremist disposition and press criminal charges against them for fueling interethnic discord. The events which have occurred are not being politically evaluated.

"We have approached higher organs on many occasions with the demand to take urgent measures aimed at ruling out new complications in interethnic relations. Unfortunately, results have not been apparent. This is why we have been forced to resort to this action."

On 26 October, a large procession in solidarity with the participants in the action came down Rustaveli Avenue. The procession ended in a meeting in front of the museum building.

Georgian People's Front Starts Newspaper

90US0216A Tbilisi MOLODEZH GRUZII in Russian 26 Oct 89 p 3

[Interview with Mamuka Pachuashvili, editor in chief of SAKARTVELO, the official organ of the People's Front of Georgia, by S. Drozd: "SAKARTVELO—Issue One"; date and place not given]

[Text] The first issue of the newspaper SAKARTVELO, the official organ of the People's Front of Georgia, has been published. We have asked Editor in Chief of the new periodical Mamuka Pachuashvili to tell us about the direction of this publication and plans for its further work.

[Drozd] Mamuka, the decision to publish an official organ of the NFG [People's Front of Georgia] was made long ago, at the First Congress of the NFG. A lot of time has passed since, but only now are we looking at the first issue. What is the reason for this delay?

[Pachuashvili] All of this hinged on an official permit. However, we still do not have it in hand, as they say. Nonetheless, the issue was published despite everything. Those who have seen it know that it is dedicated to Merab Kostava who died tragically.

[Drozd] How long will we have to wait for the second issue now?

[Pachuashvili] Everything depends on how quickly we get the permit. We have paper, we have a printing plant.

We have recruited a staff of employees which, unfortunately, has not been confirmed thus far, likewise due to the above reasons.

[Drozd] What is going to be the staff of your newspaper?

[Pachuashvili] Ten people.

[Drozd] Who is going to finance the newspaper? How much is it going to cost?

[Pachuashvili] The price of one issue will be 50 kopecks. This may be somewhat expensive; however, we operate under self-financing and self-capitalization.

[Drozd] As far as is known, the first issue was published only in Georgian. Are you planning to publish the newspaper in Russian?

[Pachuashvili] Yes, eventually. We already have a translator on the staff for this purpose. To be sure, we plan to publish the Russian-language version in a slightly smaller number of copies than the 50,000 of the basic issue.

[Drozd] What is the direction of your publication?

[Pachuashvili] Naturally, we are going to cover NFG activities because we are the official organ of the People's Front of Georgia. However, along with this we are going to cover all aspects of the youth political movement and the positions of our informal associations.

[Drozd] Why was it necessary to set up such a publication which is going to duplicate virtually all topics (except for the activities of the NFG) which are covered by the republic newspapers, radio, and TV?

[Pachuashvili] Our newspaper is not going to be censored; therefore, we can talk more freely about everything that is of concern to us and to our people. For certain reasons, some freedoms of official newspapers are still restricted. I am a journalist by profession; I have had experience working for official newspapers, and I know how this happens. This is why I am certain that our publication SAKARTVELO will be a newspaper free in every respect.

New First Secretary of Omsk Obkom Elected

LD1812221289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] A plenum of Omsk Obkom of the CPSU was held today. It discussed an organizational question. The plenum granted the request of Comrade Pokhitaylo and released him, from the post of first secretary of the oblast committee of the CPSU in connection with his retirement. After comprehensive discussion of 35 candidatures for the post of first secretary of the obkom of the CPSU, the participants of the plenum placed three candidatures on the list for the secret ballot. By a majority of votes, Comrade A.P. Leontyev, previously chairman of the ispolkom of Omsk Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, was elected first secretary of Omsk Obkom of the CPSU.

Commission Investigates Omsk Accident

LD2812180689 Moscow TASS in English 1753 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Omsk December 28 TASS—By TASS correspondent Anatoliy Petrov: The government commission investigating the accident which occurred at a plant of the petrochemical complex in Omsk found that it was caused by the breach of rules regulating welding operations.

As a result of this polystyrene dust handing in the air inflamed, causing a series of explosions and a huge fire. Three workers died and several people suffered serious burns. The damage caused to the plant is estimated at hundreds of thousands of rubles.

The commission of the USSR Ministry of the Chemical and Petrochemical Industry ruled out the possibility of the explosion due to the equipment's technological imperfection, which was supplied several years ago by the French firm Litwin.

The regional office of public prosecutor instituted criminal proceedings on the fact of people's death.

RSFSR Premier Vlasov Interviewed

PM2912111589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 89 Second Edition p 1

[Interview with A.V. Vlasov, USSR people's deputy, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, by unnamed PRAVDA correspondents: "A.V. Vlasov: 'Russia—Equal Among Equals'"—date and place of interview not stated; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] A great deal was said at the First Congress of People's Deputies, at USSR Supreme Soviet sessions, and at the Second Congress about the unenviable economic and social position of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. Admittedly a number of decisions were adopted recently that will radically change the situation in the republic. How are they being realized? This was the question that began a conversation between PRAVDA correspondents and A.V. Vlasov, USSR people's deputy, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

[Vlasov] I share the opinion of many people's deputies, who consider that Russia must become more autonomous and become a union republic that is equal among equals. The CPSU Central Committee September (1989) Plenum, which put forward a platform of national relations, devoted a special section to Russia in this platform, where it discusses the creation of a republican organizational party structure and the development of the political and economic sovereignty of the RSFSR. As a development of these ideas the CPSU Central Committee plenum resolved the question of creating a CPSU Central Committee Russian Bureau.

[Correspondents] Is not the development of economic sovereignty predicated upon the existence of Russia's own administrative structures?

[Vlasov] The formation of ministries and departments which do not yet exist in Russia has been predetermined. A concrete program for implementing the RSFSR's sovereign rights has been elaborated, but we must not be hasty—the problem is too complex. Both objective and subjective factors have an influence on its resolution. For instance, some union ministries are receiving our proposals without any particular enthusiasm. This is not accidental. A good half of their volume of work will automatically go to the Russian departments and ministries, and the division of functions will have to be re-examined and cadre questions resolved. Nevertheless, we have already taken four building ministries "under the banner" of Russia.

[Correspondents] Have any other administrative organs been created?

[Vlasov] The RSFSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] has been organized. We will create a Russian Academy of Sciences next. A decision has been adopted on establishing our own information system.

[Correspondents] Since the question of creating a USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee is on the agenda at the Second Congress, is it probable that a similar state institution will be formed in the RSFSR.

[Vlasov] Undoubtedly. We need one very much, since the Russian Federation's structure is quite complex. We have 31 autonomous formations—16 autonomous republics, 5 autonomous oblasts, and 10 national okrugs. The autonomous republics have their constitutions. So our Constitutional Oversight Committee will be called on to supervise the observance of both the Union Constitution and the Russian Constitution and those of the autonomous republics.

[Correspondents] It is likely that the RSFSR will be faced with the problem of mutual relations between the center and the local organs, is it not?.

[Vlasov] This is unavoidable. We are now implementing the political and economic sovereignty of all the autonomous formations, since their rights were practically no different than the rights of ordinary oblasts. Therefore, the sovereignty of autonomous oblasts must be guaranteed by real rights.

It stands to reason that the main part of this work is developing and strengthening economic independence through transferring to self-management and self-financing and through the promulgation of the law on local self-management and on the general principles of the republics' transition to self-management. The Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, and the Sverdlovsk, Tomsk, Kemerovo, Chelyabinsk, and Moscow Oblasts, and Moscow City will start this transition on 1 January of next year. We will examine models for the transition of another 20 oblasts to self-management and self-financing next year. The idea of such a transition for the RSFSR as a whole will be combined with regional economic accountability.

[Correspondent] Today, when the question of organizing the struggle against crime is being discussed at the Second Congress, it is evidently of great significance to the Russian Federation, too?

[Vlasov] Undoubtedly. Certain regions, for example, Kamchatka, Magadan Oblast, and Maritime Kray, have the highest level of crime in the country. It is necessary to seriously and professionally analyze the situation and the conditions that give rise to crime. Thanks to the creation of our own MVD, we have the opportunity to combine the efforts of all Russian administrative organs. Now we have completed this pyramid—the RSFSR MVD will now work in concert with the Ministry of Justice, the prosecutor's office, and courts which we had earlier. Let us start devising by joint efforts the forms and methods for combating crime. Morover, profound and most urgent steps are needed—time waits for no man....

[Correspondents] Thank you.

Legality of 'Stalinists' Moscow Meeting Questioned

PM2812162789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Dec 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Triumph Without an Audience"]

[Text] A scientific-practical conference titled "Theoretical Problems of the Transitional Period in the USSR" has been held at Moscow State University under the "aegis" of Nina Andreyeva and the "Unity" [Yedinstvo] Society of which she is a representative. This latest meeting of this informal combination was devoted to the 110th anniversary of I.V. Stalin's birth. Speakers from Leningrad, the Baltic region, Ashkhabad, and the Kuban came to the event, which for them was a celebration.

A handbill distributed on behalf of "Unity" says: "...In Stalin's time people felt that their lives were becoming better and more beautiful each day. And that is why ordinary people, rank and file working people, defend Stalin with might and main even today, 36 years after his death. In death Stalin has proved stronger than all the live counterrevolutionaries...."

Significantly, the young people turned their backs on this event. Whereas at the first meeting with Andreyeva at the Moscow State University History Faculty in early December the students catcalled, the second time they stayed away. Many people who did attend left right away after listening to the Stalinist orators for only a few minutes.

And another thing. Did the hosts—Moscow University—know this time about the further meeting of supporters of the Stalin line being prepared within its walls? Or was it held, as on the first occasion, "in disregard of the existing rules"?

Nina Andreyeva on Moscow Speaking Tour

90UN0464C Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA in Russian 1 Dec 89 p 3

[Text] **They cannot give up their principles.** A correspondent of VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA was not allowed to be present at a meeting with Nina Andreyeva. He was informed about that by the organizers of the meeting which is to take place tonight in the club "Krasnaya Zarya." The meeting will be held by the discussion club "Nash Sovremennik" which has been active under the trade union of the scientific research institute "Sapfir" in the Pervomayskiy Rayon. According to some unconfirmed information it is not for the first time that the guest from Leningrad comes to Moscow to speak to various audiences. It seems that she is scheduled to appear tomorrow before the students of one of the faculties of MGU [Moscow State University].

Human Rights Committee Formed in Moscow

LD2912113589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] A gathering of an action group, the participants of which announced their intention to set up a committee of the Soviet public on human rights and international humanitarian cooperation, has taken place in the Moscow House of Scientists. An organizational committee, which includes well-known public figures and specialists in this sphere who represent various organizations, movements, and labor collectives, has been formed.

Moscow Congress of Jewish Organizations Noted

PM2712153189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Dec 89 First Edition p 3

[Correspondent Captain 3d Rank A. Orlov report: "What Is Going On at the All-Union Cinematography Center"]

[Text] The editorial office yesterday received numerous telephone calls about an event currently taking place in the All-Union Cinematography Center in Moscow. There were even people asking: Is it true that a Zionist congress has been convened?

So I made my way to the All-Union Cinematography Center. I was told: A completely different event is taking place here—a congress of Jewish organizations and communities in the USSR. It is perfectly official and has been sanctioned by the appropriate authorities.

The registration of the 1,200 congress delegates and guests, as its press secretary A. Shmukler told me, began 17 December in the premises of the "Shalom" Theater, and the congress itself will end 22 December. According to the press secretary, its objective is to unite Jewish organizations and religious communities within its structure so as to resolve cultural and social tasks and to examine the problems of emigration by Soviet Jews and of opposition to anti-Semitism. The draft resolution on anti-Semitism speaks of the need "to halt unbridled chauvinism in the country." And the draft resolution on Zionism asserts that Zionism is "a form of Jewish national self-expression whose essence is to bring together the Jewish people from the diaspora back to their historical motherland."

Y. Shamir, prime minister of the State of Israel, sent a greetings message to the congress. Greetings messages from the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka ("Rukh") and the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka "Sajudis" were read out at the opening sitting. I was told at the press center that people holding the most diverse views—from right-wing to left-wing, extremists included—have gathered to take part in the congress.

Speeches and meetings with correspondents indicate that the congress participants really are different. There was a bold sound to an interview given by Sh. Azarkh, vice president of the "Zionist Forum of Soviet Jews"...

I have in my hands a bulletin distributed at the end of the 1st day. It speaks of the screening of a 9-1/2-hour movie about the tragedy of European Jewry during World War II in the Great Hall of the House of Cinematography Workers (introductory speeches by MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI Chief Editor Ye. Yakovlev, USSR Minister of Culture N. Gubenko, and movie director K. Lantsmann). It reports the Jewish community's participation in the funeral of USSR People's Deputy A.D. Sakharov and mentions the outrage at the Cinematography Center involving members of the "Pamyat" Society aktiv and some congress participants.

Muscovite's View of Leningrad Meeting

90UN0455A Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA in Russian 29 Nov 89 p 1

[Article by Nell Marinich "Ill Winds Are Blowing..."]

[Text] So, they announced in Leningrad: The party has gone into the streets; they have made their choice; from now on, the revolutionary Piter [old traditional nickname for Leningrad] has found its own way in the struggle and the ship of perestroyka in the "northern capital" has found its own true course. The big square is full of slogans and banners, the speakers in spotlights hurl inflammatory speeches at those gathered, the audience responds in their support. "Who is for it?" the question is addressed to the gathering from the dais. Unanimous approval! And the sound of a brass band flows over Piter: "Ill winds are blowing above us."

I do not know about others, but I felt somewhat uncomfortable watching this meeting on the Leningrad TV channel. The feeling resembled somehow the vague and distressing days after Nina Andreyeva's "manifesto" was published.

It seemed, everything was going the right way: The speakers were for socialism, for Leninism, for the improvement of people's lives, for raising the prestige of the party; they spoke openly about the economic and social crises. In other words, the problems discussed were quite in accordance with the spirit of perestroyka and glasnost, but I still had a feeling of some idea substitution.

"We will not allow anyone to stray off the road to socialism!" was thundering over the square as I was wondering what kind of socialism the speakers meant. Were they talking about the "developed" type, or the administrative-commanding, or the kind that offered one an expanse of healthy economy and democracy? "We will not allow deviation from Lenin!", "Away with the cooperators!"—the slogans were mixing together but I could not blend them as I was thinking about Lenin's plan for the new economic policy and for country-wide cooperation. Lenin himself characterised that plan as the "change of our entire point of view toward socialism".

They were talking about the crises in the economy, in society and in the party and they openly tied them to perestroyka. Economic reform was treated as a violation of the "sacred principles", as the return of capitalism. The democratization of the society was considered as the fury of the elements and the democratization in the party was seen as a blow to CPSU unity; the mass media were presented as a tool of the information terror, of defamation and libel.

But the most "crucial" moment was the criticism of the Politburo and the Central Committee of the party. They were mainly accused of not presenting a well-defined program. We have heard such claims toward the center so many times before: There is a general concept, but give us an agenda, tell us where to step with the left foot and where to step with the right foot and give us a day-by-day chart of those steps. At the meeting they were also angry: Why do they not tell us what ideals and what truth we should have now? But our long-suffering history has proved already that the ideals do not become reality if the chart is first drawn on top and after that life is fitted to it. Socialism is a live creation of millions of people. Perestroyka means initiative and independence.

What kind of slogans were advanced at the meeting? "Away with cooperators, thieves and money-grabbers!", "Mass media—under the workers' control!", "Provide a political evaluation of the law on property!", and even "Communist from the Supreme Soviet! What color is your party membership card?"—these are some of the slogans. Can you feel where the "ill winds are blowing"?

It is clear what we should do "away with" but what do we get instead? "Institute the strictest order, strengthen the discipline, repell any attempts to lead us astray," are the words from some of the speeches. This seems to be the entire program, both political and economic. It is constructive, isn't it? It is clear, well-defined and comprehensive for everyone. Otherwise everything is falling apart. The Politburo gave too much freedom to all. "Make the Politburo answer, not report!" was a decisive statement made by one of the speakers in a very demanding and pointed manner, without any concern for authority, quite in the spirit of the times. It is also understandable: you do not have to rack your brains over pluralism of opinions, over forms of property, over laws of economics and of the market, over the ways of democracy. Let us fulfill this definite program, set up the discipline, call the "hesitant" to answer, check who has got what kind of the party membership card,—and what then? Will we have it all?

I am convinced that the leaders of one of the largest party organizations in the country, and secretaries of party committees of various enterprises who spoke at the meeting have to know the concept behind perestroyka, they have to see that it is irrevocable. But then what is the problem? Did some people give in to the attitude of a certain part of Leningrad population— those who support Nina Andreyeva?

We were outraged by her article, we theorized and analyzed it. It seemed quite simple to shoot it down in press and celebrate the victory. But that "manifesto" turned out to be much more serious than we thought.

The party has begun perestroyka. Its most important mission now is to consolidate the efforts of society along this road. It is obvious that one can express one's indignation at the difficulties of the present period but is it not up to the communists to be the first to maintain their confidence and to prevent others from hasty actions? Why, then, should they publicly seek enemies and issue a call to ideological barricades now when self-control is the best kind of courage? You cannot find bread on the barricades. One of the speakers touched upon a concrete idea: "Let us deal with the food problem!", but hers was a lone voice at the meeting. Of course, it is a lot easier to shout: "Make the Politburo answer!" than to get involved in a painstaking solution of everyday problems in one's own city.

At first I did not want to write about the meeting in Leningrad. Pluralism is pluralism: after all, everybody can have his own opinion, including those who gathered at the meeting. Besides, it did not seem a Moscow problem. But the Muscovites keep on calling: "What is happening there, in Leningrad?" And something they said several times at the meeting also touched me on the raw: We, the people of Piter, will show them in Moscow the way! To that we would like very much to answer: thanks, we'll manage ourselves.

Another reason for me to share my personal opinion of the event with my readers was our Moscow meetings. They, of course, are much smaller in size but they perturb me in the same way. Such as, for instance, the meeting of MGSPS [Moscow City Council of Trade

Unions] and the one organized by the Taganskiy Raykom [rayon party committee].

By the way, a leader of one of the party organizations of the Taganskiy rayon, who had taken part in the meeting, gave a TV interview. In it he said that "Zhdanovskiy" as the name of the rayon sounds a lot more pleasant than "Taganskiy" and the "Zhdanovians" sounds better than "Taganskians" which also rhymes with something offensive. How come? He gave an example on air.

I keep thinking about the meeting and try to understand its participants. I look for lines in the PRAVDA interview with Boris Veniaminovich Gidaspov, People's Deputy of the USSR, with which I can agree unreservedly. Here they are, I have found them: "Words now devaluate very fast. We need concrete actions."

KGB Deputy Chairman Discusses Activities

90UN0539A Moscow GUDOK in Russian
21 Dec 89 p 4

[Article by A. Rostovtsev: "Chekists Talk..."]

[Text] The large auditorium of the club of the imeni Voytovich Moscow Car Repair Plant was jammed. On the eve of the anniversary of the formation of the organs of VChK [All-Russia Extraordinary Commission]—KGB, a meeting of enterprise employees was held with representatives of the USSR Committee for State Security, headed by Committee Deputy Chairman Colonel General G.Ye. Ageyev.

The meeting began in the lobby where an exhibition was set up on the activities of the KGB, including Soviet counterintelligence, and on how the actions of foreign special services were brought to an end.

Electronic listening devices that can be hooked up to wires and those activated by a radio signal were displayed. There also were stills showing the apprehension of a spy who came to a drop together with... a child (secrecy rules!) in order to get information.

One exhibit consisted of pictures taken in railway cars, which showed how a large amount of smuggled goods was confiscated.

At the next exhibit, they had gold, the very gold found by KGB employees during a search at the time of the so-called "Uzbek affair."

Later, responding to railway workers' questions, Major General G.V. Kislykh, deputy chief of the USSR KGB Department of Investigations, discussed how the case originated and how it was later transferred to the investigative team of T. Gdlyan and N. Ivanov.

"We began to work on this case while Rashidov still 'reigned,' in 1981. We uncovered a group of prominent thieves, hard currency dealers, and bribe-takers, Charges were filed against 18 people. In April 1984, the KGB established that the chief of the OBKhSS [Department for Combating the Theft of Socialist Property] of the Bukhara Internal Affairs Administration took bribes. A search was performed, and 1.2 million rubles were found in the safe in his apartment. The chain brought us to the director of the City Administration for Trade in Manufactured Goods, Kondratov. His cut was more impressive. More than 7,000 gold items and gems, as well as 1,700 gold coins struck in Tsarist times and by the amir of Bukhara, were found in his garden in huge glass vessels. Eight more persons were arrested."

The case was transferred to the USSR Procuracy.

The railway workers asked all kinds of questions at the meeting. How does the KGB work at present, in times of perestroyka? Are there underground levels in the KGB building? The answer was: "No, even the prison built still under the Tsars is at another location." Is there going to be a staff reduction at the KGB? "We will not 'disarm' and reduce the volume of our Chekist work because the adversary is not about to do this." How is the process of restoring justice with regard to those subjected to repressions in the 1930's-1940's developing? Deputy Chief of the KGB Central Archive Colonel V.K. Vinogradov said in response: "This is our duty to the people and one of the most important political tasks facing the organs. Let me give you just a few numbers. Between 1954 and 1961, about 700,000 people were rehabilitated. Subsequently, this process narrowed somewhat: We only considered cases on the basis of petitions by the victims themselves or their immediate relatives. Now we consider all cases."

On the initiative of the KGB, early this year the verdicts of the so-called "panels of two" and "panels of three," noncourt organs, were cancelled. In the first half of 1989 alone, 367,000 people were rehabilitated.

Subsequently, Department Chief in the KGB Transportation Administration Lieutenant Colonel S.A. Dmitriyev discussed the work of the committee at railroad facilities.

Sergey Alekseyevich began by saying: "You and we are railway personnel. First of all, I would like to thank you for the assistance you've been giving us. Recently, the situation in transportation has become more complex. First, we have witnessed major emergencies on railways. These have been the disaster in Ufa, explosions of cars in Arzamas, Novosibirsk, and Sverdlovsk, and passenger train crashes at Kamenskaya and at the Bologoye station. We have been taking a direct part in their investigation from the very beginning. I should say that thus far no acts of sabotage have been uncovered in this sphere, though at Kamenskaya it happened the other way around. Over there, the in-house commission communicated that the crash occurred due to the closure of the end valve by an unknown malefactor. However, enormous work was performed, and the fault of... railway personnel due to neglect and irresponsibility was established."

He went on to say: "At present, particular attention is paid to the areas of Transcaucasia where particularly insolent crimes have been committed. Tracks have been blown up, explosive devices have been placed, armed attacks against rolling stock have occurred. We are investigating each case thoroughly...."

The meeting came to an end. A GUDOK correspondent asked KGB Deputy Chairman G.Ye. Ageyev about his impressions:

"Such meetings have once again become a tradition. After all, if we were to recall the history of the creation of the organs, this was one of the main instructions by Lenin. This is, as he put it, drawing on the support of the masses, links with the masses. These links were lively at the outset. By the end of the 1980's, when the time of glasnost and democratization came, we ourselves began to feel the need to communicate directly with the labor collectives. We should not get isolated and confined in-house. I believe such meetings are useful both for us and for the others. This enhances our knowledge of life and aids in our work."

"Is this to say that a 'second wave' has now begun?"

"No, such conversations were held earlier as well. It is another matter that they were not that extensive and common and that they were not advertised. However, our Transportation Administration has maintained good contacts with the Voytovich Plant since as early as December 1981. Its workers visit us, and we even work at the enterprise during volunteer Saturday work drives. By now, the forms of our communication with the collectives of plants, factories, and offices have been considerably enriched. They have become open and interesting. Today, I am grateful to the workers and clerical employees of the famous enterprise, the imeni Voytovich Plant, for the involvement they have shown. It will be our pleasure to carry on the reborn tradition."

A small surprise was waiting for the railway employees toward the end of the meeting. They were shown for the first time the videtape "The KGB Today" which covers previously unknown aspects of the activity of the Chekists.

Lack of Compromise at First Deputies Congress Noted

90UN0475A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 9 Dec 89 p 5

[Article by T. Yakhlakova: "On the Congress Prior to the Congress"]

[Text] A few days ago I decided to leaf through the stenographic notes of the First USSR Congress of People's Deputies. I wanted, without relying on memory, to recreate my first impressions and, perhaps, predict for myself how the second congress would proceed. But I couldn't just simply leaf through—my reading turned out to be as captivating as the atmosphere of those days which had the entire country riveted to their television screens. We should publish these documents in a separate collection—we would obtain the most instructive material for self-analysis were we not too lazy to sit down with pencil in hand and work on it.

Today we absolutely must re-read the record of our first, stormy congress in order to understand why it was unable to justify the hopes we had placed in it. This will teach us to make more sober calculations regarding all the next steps we take, and perhaps we will finally realize that sudden revolutionary raids are far from the best means of reaching our cherished goal. These may create the illusion of swift forward movement, but won't we again discover at some moment that we have left behind more empty lots and destruction than constructed buildings?

Let us return to the congress, however. I was energetic enough to take a separate piece of paper and write down a list of questions the deputies believed should be resolved immediately. The list was a long one, and I will therefore cite only the most major issues. The congress was requested to adopt a Decree on Power, Law on the Land, and Declaration on Consolidation of the Soviet Socialist Federation; to draw up anti-monopoly policies; to establish through legislative act the right to private property; to reexamine the state budget with the aim of reorienting it towards satisfying social needs; to introduce a number of changes into the Law on Elections and into the USSR Constitution; to define precise regulations for the congress and for the status of people's deputy, etc. I expect that today such a listing would bring a smile to the faces of many—with just two months of legislative functioning on the part of the Supreme Soviet, we are slowly coming to grasp that the cavalry-attack method clearly has no prospects for success here.

Let us suppose that the question of congress regulations were to be submitted as a first matter on the agenda. It would seem logical—before getting down to any particular work it is necessary to agree on general rules and procedures. This is the alphabet, and all of us as journalists noted with regret in our publications—it seems the congress failed to immediately adopt a set of regulations, causing it to "stumble" hourly over procedural questions.

This observation is entirely justified, by the way. But let us consider a simple question which did not elicit any particular quarrel—must we limit the number of individuals desiring to participate in discussion and debate? I believe everyone remembers that the congress was leaning towards allowing everyone to speak who registered. True, the way this ended up every time was that those who had filled the hall with passionate speeches gladly voted for the chairman's motion to end the debate. But the deputies' desire to state their opinion has been so great, that if the question were raised whether or not to limit debate in general terms, according to principle, rather than with respect to some specific situation, the congress in my view would come out in support of unlimited freedom of discussion. It is not difficult to imagine what we would have as a result. Just one attempt to legalize by regulation the existence of diverse deputy groups, as is done today in a draft approved by the Supreme Soviet, would result in such protracted and fiery discussion that the deputies would have neither the time nor the energy in all likelihood to spend on any other matter.

And what if the congress were to begin discussion—not even on the Law on Ownership, which still today after much rework and coordinative effort evokes argument—simply on the admissibility of private ownership under conditions of socialism? Or to discuss Article 6 of the USSR Constitution, which evokes sharp displeasure on the part of some deputies and zealous protection on the part of others?

When the matter of Article 6 was again brought up at the session during discussion of the congress agenda, no one branded or stifled the orators who were fighting for its repeal. It turns out even this topic can be discussed without falling into obsession, while soberly weighing the consequences such a step might lead to. It seems to me the Supreme Soviet has made a wise decision—not to bring this issue before the second congress, but examine it during work on the new USSR Constitution. But this was far from a unanimous decision—and quite a number of adherents to the opposite point of view will be found at the congress. I am afraid the subject will again "surface" at the congress during the process of approving the agenda. Because this will take place during the very first minutes, we will be witnesses to an instantaneous polarization of views. It is not easy to control emotions—who knows what slanders will be uttered by opponents to one another and what effect this will have on the "efficiency" of the congress?

Let us say that the congress agrees to examine and even does repeal Article 6. Will this hasten political reform? The question is at least debatable—whether our society should know if the party's authority proceeds not from the Constitution, the fundamental law, but rather reflects the situation which has actually come to pass. And while there are no other structures of authority in our state, the presence or absence of an article in the Constitution will not radically change the situation. I hope we have learned something from the experience of history and are not about to rush headlong into destroying the old without being concerned about how and what we will build in its place.

For me personally, Article 6 seems to be about as dubious an achievement of socialism as free medical care. Essentially it does not add to the party's authority, but today is provoking a growing discontent in our society. The reality of politics is such that it is impossible, of course, not to take the moods of people into account, but it would be imprudent to be led around by them. When I am told that the repeal of Article 6 is a political question, that the people are awaiting it and their hopes must not be dashed, I think, I am ashamed to say, would it not be better to explain to our intelligent people that this step will not add in any measure to real sovereignty of the people? That even elections to the local soviets, however democratic they may be, will only lay the framework for new structures of authority. In order for these to start functioning at full force and replace what has preceded, time will be required, as well as a new system of economic relations and thorough legal and judicial reform. We only **declared** perestroyka 5 years ago—and are just now coming to truly begin implementing it.

I express the preceding sentence with a caution—this is usually stated as an accusation towards the government, Gorbachev, the party, and all the "powers that be." We should reflect, however—would it have been possible 5 years ago to adopt the laws our Supreme Soviet is working on today? I doubt it. We naively delude ourselves, thinking that dogmatism is only characteristic of "the party-bureaucratic apparatus." But the consciousness of the masses is attached to dogma to no less a degree whatsoever. Perhaps behind the scenes of an "anti-cooperative rally" there stood some "anti-perestroyka forces" (although I do not believe these exist—I think everyone in our state understands already that "we cannot live that way any more," and opinions diverge only in the manner in which this must be done), but the rally itself expressed the moods and views of broad layers of the population. And opposition to the initiatives of the Baltic republics by those "at the top" is supported by a lack of understanding and acceptance of the "grassroots" processes underway there.

The 5 preceding years (4 years to be more exact, insofar as we have begun to see some positive result in the current year) have cleansed our mind of numerous dogmas and "taboos," the same way the hull of a ship which has stayed too long in its mooring is cleansed of rust and barnacles. Let us think back—has it been very long since we began to openly discuss questions of private ownership, sovereignty of republics, state languages, the leading role of the CPSU, responsibility of the state for the war in Afghanistan and events in Tbilisi...? Has it been a long time since we decided to look deeply into our own history, prior to the 1917 landmark, realizing that critical moments in history require particularly painstaking analysis? Finally, has it been a long time since our economic lexicon has been augmented with such terms as "market," "leasing," "bank credits," "auction," "farmer," "business undertakings," and even the dreaded word "stock exchange"...? I do not wish to prophesy, but I am afraid this "stock exchange," which we do not yet have, will attract to its premises quite a few protest rallies.

Six months ago, at the first congress, those who made presentations more often called themselves "delegates" than "deputies," and many intended to function not as sovereign or authorized representatives of their voters, but as members of some kind of regional delegation headed by a leader. Our ear is more accustomed, of course, to the word "delegation," and it is gentler sounding than group or faction. Perhaps if Muscovites were to resort to traditional nomenclature, even in the form—"part of a delegation," let us say—and did not represent themselves immediately as a group, the Sword of Damocles would not be hanging over their heads with a sign on the blade reading "Down with the Opposition!" Reaction to their presentation proves once again that without shifts in consciousness, shifts in reality are impossible. And so it is not worth grieving over "the aimless years spent"—they do not merit such characterization.

But no variety of "taboo" dies out of its own accord. Someone must be the first to doubt its necessity. Maybe a little later on we will learn not to throw stones at those who run ahead?

Many of our problems proceed from the fact that we have managed to raise and educate more than one generation of uncompromising people. Beginning with an uncompromising fight against the bourgeoisie, just look at whom our poor people have come to struggle with—Trotskyites and Bukharinists, cosmopolitans and "Morgan-Weitzman followers," kulaks and saboteurs, obsequiousness to the West and the intrigues of world imperialism... And all 7 decades showing drunkenness and poor management. (And here we saw the state call for an uncompromising struggle while not too actively engaged in preventing compromises—but this is another subject).

By this time, when the entire world understood that compromise was the mover of democracy, we developed a steadfast loathing for it. The word which, according to strict definition from the Latin, means agreement attained through mutual concessions (that is the way dictionaries interpret it), has retained its meaning only in science and perhaps foreign policy. But "in internal use," as Zhvanetskiy says, it has become a synonym for appeasement, an unattractive phenomenon to be condemned.

Having unlearned how to seek agreement through mutual concessions, we respect the valor of standing one's ground until victory is achieved, even if it is a Pyrrhic victory. Isn't this why there are more and more divorces in families, miners' strikes are difficult to restrain, interethnic conflicts seem impossible to resolve...?

The first congress of deputies reflected this—our unreadiness, and perhaps inability at this time, to effect compromise. But let the people's deputies not be offended—almost every speaker appealed for consolidation and unity. But what if these reasonable appeals were prefaced with resolute demands "not to give the Muscovites more speaking time," "not to allow factioning or splits" on the one hand, and no less resolute demands on the other that Gorbachev immediately decide who he is with—"with the people or the corporation," "with the party or the people"?

When discussion takes place using tones of ultimatum, at high pitch, the consciousness of the other party is focused not on reasoned argument, but rather on the final outcome and words which have hurt one's pride—this is readily shown, even in family affairs. The shorthand reports from the congress enable us to see clearly what has slipped out of view during the heat of discussion—the categorical judgments and strict "either...or" statements successfully place opponents in opposite corners of the hall, and sometimes people who might otherwise be in accord, as well.

We do not have the ability to consciously pursue compromise, much less avoid promoting ultimatum using "either...or" language, an elementary indicator of political culture so necessary to us all.

Gorbachev's "let us now consult" and "we must now consult" have been quoted with a healthy amount of sarcasm. This crafty saying has usually been followed by a formula either to bring the situation out of crisis, when passions are running extremely high, or out of protracted discussion. The solution proposed by M.S. Gorbachev always received the support of the majority, which was far from prepared to agree with the proposals and argument of the radicals. But insofar as most of the deputies did not have an opportunity to state their view and somehow make their position known, there was always the hope of "winning over" the audience "from the left." This might possibly have succeeded in some instances had Mikhail Sergeyevich resorted to another effort—had he been able to fracture the mood of the hall when Lithuanian deputies raised the question of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. But he did not proceed in this manner, preferring to follow the predominant mood, for which he had the pleasure of hearing accusations of "manipulating" the hall.

Of course, we can suspect M.S. Gorbachev of being a major enemy of perestroyka. And why not? History has firmly imbued in us a disposition for suspicion which L.I. Abalkin accurately called "a presumption of guilt." We have grown accustomed to dividing the world into capitalist and socialist, people into "white" and "red," ours and theirs. Only two poles, only two colors. And we somehow do not understand the leader we have today. Who is he with—with us or with "them"? "With the party or with the people"?

Well, he is in the middle—and he is persistently attempting to return to us a taste for compromise, to cure us of the obsessive habit of always fighting with someone.

The "riddle of Gorbachev" which MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI put in the title of his political portrait is difficult for us to comprehend only because it is simple. "We must deal with reality"—this is the main postulate of his policy, which he not only makes no secret of, but on the contrary is trying in every way to implant in our consciousness. The key expression in this sentence, in my view, is not even "reality," but "deal with." We cannot make our way straight ahead, cannot bang our foreheads into the wall or sweep away obstacles in our path—we must go around them while maintaining the course. We cannot rush events or we will get carried away accidentally in a sharp turn—we must allow things to develop naturally. We must not allow our interests to collide, but rather bring them into agreement...

Some people feel this is too slow. But we have already tried things the fast way—many times.

Last spring, at the height of the elections, someone began circulating a joke to the effect that the indicators of democracy in our society were academician A.D. Sakharov and the out-of-favor B.N. Yeltsin. Today, L.I. Abalkin may be considered an indicator of perestroyka. Without betraying his views on the state of our economy or the conclusions he quietly delivered from the podium of the 19th Party Conference, he was transformed before our very eyes from a "disturber of the peace" to just about a "preserver of foundations"—that is the degree to which our consciousness has progressed. We change irrepressibly and unrecognizably. Our parliament has grown up, become more proper and respectful in its manner. It performed well during this session, although unable to adopt its entire legislative package. Yet our economic situation—alas—is not changing for the better, and the impatient and demanding desire for change is pushing us towards hurried conclusions and actions not well thought out. We are already prepared to admit that we have elected "the wrong" deputies and are considering whether or not to recall them.

But they are not "the wrong" deputies—they are a copy of our society. And if some obkom [oblast party committee] secretary, for example, does not think like Deputies S.B. Stankevich or A.A. Sobchak, he nonetheless also expresses the interests of a certain portion of the people, which we call the party apparatus, and which—by the way—is quite heterogeneous. It seems to me that as long as we fail to learn to refer to all layers of the population, all categories of workers, as the people, we will not succeed in taking that essential step which separates democratization from genuine democracy.

Politics is a unique kind of intellectual game involving moves made under cover and a certain degree of guile. When it is open to supervision, violating moral and ethical standards is dangerous and this makes the rules of the game generally honest. Therefore when deputies today are indignant, feeling that the apparatus is "toying" with them and imposing its own decisions or corrections to draft legislation, I feel like saying one thing—don't give in, sharpen your political skills, study and learn. And if you lose, blame only yourself. Power is given to you today by the people—use it adroitly. A fight in the parliament is preferable, by God, and more useful than fights on the street.

Like any normal person I too would like to see perestroyka proceed more swiftly. But every strike which occurs today deprives me of that hope. I understand that people do not strike as a result of a good life. And I am not about to vote for a moratorium on strikes. But I wish we would repudiate the "presumption of guilt" and allow the government and Supreme Soviet to work in peace—even if it is not the 15 months L.I. Abalkin asked for, but just one year. Nonetheless, two would be better.

We have to deal with reality...

Poll Results on Attitudes to Restructuring

LD2212103689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Report by (Vladimir Mikhaylovich Ivanov), research fellow of USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociology, on results of nationwide opinion poll, during break in proceedings at USSR Congress of People's Deputies session in Moscow—live]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Public evaluations of the speed of perestroyka, how the country's population sees it, could be described as moderately positive. Residents of the Baltic republics are the most optimistic, while residents of Leningrad and Krasnodar are the most critical. As few as 3-10% of those polled in all the towns said that restructuring comes up to expectations. At the same time, one-third of those polled in the Baltic and a half of those polled in Leningrad and Krasnodar think that perestroyka does not come up to their expectations. On the average, 40% of those polled think that the situation in the country has not changed in the period between the congresses while about the same number, i.e. approximately 40%, think that the situation in the country has become worse over that period. And again, residents of Leningrad and Irkutsk are most critical while residents of the Baltic are least critical.

We also probed evaluations of the Supreme Soviet's activity. In general, positive evaluations exceed negative ones. For example, in Moscow 57% appraise positively the Supreme Soviet's work while 26% appraise it negatively, while in Kiev these figures are 47% and 35%, respectively. The second round of polling was completed very recently, on 17 December, and it showed that the population's interest in congress work is very high. The number of those who are not following its work does not exceed 10% in any of the polled areas. Also, the evaluation of the democratic character of the congress work is very high. On average, 70% of those polled said that, in their view, the congress is working in quite a democratic manner.

One of the key questions was about preferences for the country's further economic development. One can unambiguously say that the path toward strengthening the centralized foundations of the economy, i.e. return to the administration-command system, is supported by no more than 9% of those polled. As regards the immediate introduction of market relations or the phased economic reform proposed by the government, views are split here. The unanimous view of the Soviet people that was our permanent feature before the era of congresses has gone. Muscovites and Tyumen residents give more support to the government's proposals, whereas the other regions either prefer the immediate introduction of market relations—these include the Baltic, Tomsk, Irkutsk, Kiev, and Leningrad—or the number of supporters of either of the ways of developing the economy is approximately equal, and these include Alma-Ata, Tashkent, and Kiev oblast. [passage omitted]

Tajik Local Election Results Reported

LD2812214389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] As already reported, the elections of deputies to oblast, city, rayon, and settlement and kishlak soviets of people's deputies were held in Tajikistan on 24 December. More than 91% of the electorate voted. In rural areas, the figure was slightly higher. Deputies were elected in 15,048 okrugs, in the remaining 1,327 okrug (498 and 829 respectively) runoffs and repeat elections will be held.

We were told at the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet Presidium that in the great majority of okrugs, the elections were held on the alternative principle. There were 33,962 candidate deputies competing for 16,380 seats. The elections were held without okrug meetings. Public organizations put forward their candidates collectively. Representatives of all the nationalities living in the republic were elected to the local soviets.

In 10 okrugs of Tursun-Zade, Kulyab, Isfara, and Vakhsh rayons, the elections were declared null because the constituency electoral commissions infringed the established procedure for issuing voting papers.

Despite the high turnout, in rural areas, no elections were held in 46 okrugs because less than 50% of the registered voters went to the polling stations. The runoff is due to be held on 7 January, and the elections on 25 February 1990.

Supreme Court Head on Legal System, Role

90UN0540A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 51, 20 Dec 89 p 14

[Interview with Ye.A. Smolentsev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, by Aleksandr Borin, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA observer: "I Am a Judge, and Any Law Is Sacred to Me...."]

[Text] [Borin] In certain countries constitutional supervision is provided by the supreme courts. But in our country, as you know, a special committee is created for this purpose. Does its creation mean that the country's Supreme Court will be free of this function as before?

[Smolentsev] In many European countries and the United States there are indeed constitutional courts which check to make sure that the laws adopted there are in keeping with the constitution. But our judicial system is constructed on a different basis and our courts have not been granted that right. Therefore the creation of a special committee would be a significant step forward in building a law-governed state. I think, however, that the USSR Supreme Court should have certain elements of constitutional supervision. Let us say that when checking on a specific judicial decision the USSR Supreme Court discovers that it was made on the basis of a decree that prohibits a citizen from setting any price when he sells his automobile through a commission store. This decree, it would seem, violates the citizen's constitutional right to dispose of his private property. When overriding this judicial decision we instruct the courts that in the future they are not to be guided by this unconstitutional decree and we also submit a notice to the organ that passed it. If we are speaking about an unconstitutional law, we submit the notice to the committee for constitutional supervision. Today, understandably, the USSR Supreme Court does not yet have this right, but I think it should. It seems to me that such an expansion of the authority of the USSR Supreme Court in no way interferes with the authority of the constitutional supervision committee. This would simply be an element in the development of our democracy and the strengthening of our law and order.

[Borin] For decades in our country, politics has dictated to law. Now, however, we are speaking about the idea that politics should be subordinate to the law and operate within its framework. Many would like to see the courts be the arbitrator in interrelations between politics and the law. How do you feel about this?

[Smolentsev] Negative. As concerns the influence to which the law is subjected by politics, I think this influence is quite natural. Very frequently politics is reflected in law although, of course, the former must operate within the framework of the latter. But I am categorically against making the courts responsible for resolving any political disputes. I shall give this example. The following procedure is envisioned in one of the preliminary drafts of the law on the press. There is no censorship. It is abolished. Some newspaper prints, say, an article which could be taken as a call for violent overthrow of Soviet power. The procurator halts the publication of the newspaper, he turns the materials over to the court, and within 24 hours it must determine whether the publication contains an illegal call for violence or not. We objected. Yes, go ahead and eliminate preliminary censorship. We agree with that. The only result will be increased personal responsibility on the part of the newspaper editor and its editorial board. But if the newspaper still prints a call for violent overthrow of the government, the procurator must file a criminal case against the guilty parties, turn it over to the court, and the court will consider not a political dispute but a criminal case. God help the judges cope with the responsibilities they already have, and do not give them additional responsibilities that are not properly theirs.... Or let us take the cases of the strikes that are now coming into the courts. In Article 1 of the law on the procedure for resolving collective labor disputes it is clearly formulated: The present law regulates the procedure for resolving collective labor disputes (conflicts).... Article

12 clearly states: Strikes are illegal and not allowed if they are motivated by demands for violent overthrow and replacement of the Soviet state and social system and also demands that entail disturbance of ethnic or racial balance. Thus the law emphasizes: Strikes cannot be and should not be political in nature....

[Borin] But why, Yevgeniy Alekseyevich? The law states that we must not demand violent overthrow of the system or disturb the ethnic balance. But what if the strikers advance other political demands that are not prohibited by law? Or, for example, they protest against certain political actions, as was the case recently with the editors of the Noginsk city newspaper? Perhaps the whole problem is the limited nature of the law, which does not want to notice and, therefore, does not regulate such cases and conflicts?

[Smolentsev] I am a judge. And any law is sacred to me. I cannot engage in polemics about what should be and how it should be outside the framework of the law. Since the law speaks only about resolving labor and economic disputes, I assume that the strikers must not make political demands. At rallies and demonstrations—fine. But not in strikes.

[Borin] Some military investigators spoke recently on Leningrad television. They discussed the fact that their conclusions regarding the causes and circumstances of the Tbilisi tragedy do not agree with the conclusions of the special deputy commission. As a result, the congress decided to hear both the report from the commission chairman and the statement of the head military prosecutor. Do you think that this kind of polemic is appropriate at the congress? Is this not replacing a possible court case? The deputies have expressed such misgivings but the congress has not accepted them.

[Smolentsev] First of all I think that making viewpoints public on television—on either side—is unethical and incorrect. Neither the chairman of the deputy commission nor the military investigators responding to him should have done this. Since the congress convened this commission it should be given a chance to complete its work and report the results to the congress. Until that is done they should not appeal to public opinion. But now that the dispute has arisen and overflowed its banks, polemics in the congress are apparently inevitable. It would be wrong to hear only one side and not give the other a chance to speak. I would want only for these questions to be heard at the congress on a general, broad plane so that they do not affect the responsibility of specific individuals and certainly not their criminal responsibility. Let us hear a political assessment of the situation that has developed, but without juridical conclusions.

[Borin] Is that really possible? In any event a political assessment is an assessment of the actions of certain social forces, groups, and specific people. From here it is only one step to a declaration of their guilt or innocence.

[Smolentsev] I think that the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet have the right to conduct a parliamentary investigation on any question and to form any commissions. In this case all officials and organizations, including the procurator's office and the court, are obliged to contribute in all ways to this investigation and present the necessary documents. But if as a result of the parliamentary investigation there are doubts about a certain court decision, a protest can be made only according to the procedure established by law, that is, by strictly determined legal parties. Only the higher court, having considered the protest, has the right to act on it or decide not to. In other words, the power that administers justice in the country is subordinate not to the legislative organ (or its commissions or committees), but to the laws this organ adopts. Not only courts, officials, and rank-and-file citizens but also the legislators themselves are obliged to observe these laws unwaveringly. Therein lies the essence.

[Borin] The term "mafia" has been encountered more and more frequently in the press. How do you understand it?

[Smolentsev] Let us stipulate at the outset that the phenomenon that is called by that name in the West, it seems to me, does not exist in our country. At least I do not know about it since the courts have not handled such cases. But, unfortunately, we do have organized crime. It has various forms—the "shadow economy," the drug business, rackets, corruption, and, yes, also numerous bands. We know of cases in which significant groups of criminals who steal immense amounts are even creating special funds from which they give bribes to highly placed officials in law protection organs and people whose job it is to fight crime. In Kharkov, for example, for many years a criminal group was active stealing large amounts of state funds through producing and selling sewn items that were not accounted for. In return for covering up its activity large bribes were regularly given to the chief of the consumer service administration of the Kharkov oblispolkom [oblast executive committee], his deputy, and officials of the Kharkov internal affairs administration and two rayon internal affairs divisions. The question arises: Is our criminal legislation prepared to react to such ingrained kinds of crime? I think not, not always. Concepts such as organizer, accomplice, and perpetrator do not encompass all the ways in which man participates in crime. There is the member of a band and the person who is responsible for the entire band, if he has not participated in a concrete crime, but knew about it. Apparently we must follow this path when developing a criminal law about any organized crime.

[Borin] There is no doubt that our justice system and our laws should be prepared for the challenge being made to the society by organized crime. But do discussions of the mafia not serve once again as a unique force in the political struggle? It has already been noted in the press that the ideology of fascism in its day ripened on the fury of the masses directed against the plutocracy, and so forth.

[Smolentsev] I do not think that discussions of the mafia are a force in the political struggle. Of course this subject can be used by malicious people for their own private or other ignoble ends, but nothing more. Our society is mature enough not to be knocked off its feet by individual demagogues. But, I repeat, the growth of crime in our country, including organized crime, is an alarming reality that demands the most resolute measures from us.

[Borin] The new Fundamentals of Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics on the Judicial System went into effect on 1 December 1989. The lengthy squabbles finally came to an end: From now on lawyers are allowed to be present from the moment the suspect is arrested. Does this mean that now someone who is arrested can demand to see a lawyer?

[Smolentsev] I assume that it does. If the person who is arrested asks for a meeting with a lawyer and wants to consult with him, the investigator must satisfy this request. The problem, however, is that these questions are regulated not by the law on the judicial system but by procedural law. This is what should establish the concrete mechanism and procedure for the participation of the lawyer: Whether he should be present during the early interrogations, whether he has the right to ask his own questions, when and how he is to become familiar with the materials of the case, and so forth. We are speaking about observing investigatory secrecy. But the new procedural law is still just being developed; the draft of it will apparently reach the Supreme Soviet in the near future. And for the time being we must be guided by the existing procedural norms.

[Borin] This year the Supreme Soviet adopted a truly revolutionary law: We have been given the opportunity to appeal to the court the collegial decisions of management organs. Without this kind of law all talk of human rights in our country was meaningless. Only now are we gradually being transformed from pathetic supplicants into citizens. Will our courts be ready to operate according to the new law beginning 1 July 1990?

[Smolentsev] I quite agree with your assessment of the law; it is truly revolutionary. I am counting primarily on its preventive, educational role. When making any decision now officials will have to think: If the matter is taken to court the question of their personal responsibility can arise. Will we be prepared? We are doing everything we can to be prepared. But the questions here are much broader: Will our judicial system in general be prepared for the immense tasks that are being set for it today by the times and the society? It seems to me that you yourself have written repeatedly about how in former times the courts have been degraded, how the judges' rights have been encroached upon, and the impoverished condition of our justice system. Today, of course, the situation is changing. But so far only the first steps have been taken.

[Borin] Thank you Yevgeniy Alekseyevich. As newspapermen say, this material is fresh and it was important for us to print it before the second congress began its work. But I should like to set up a broader more substantive discussion with you. The role of the judicial system in the modern society, the position of judges, the new legislation, the separation of power in our country.... In a word, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA has questions to ask the chairman of the USSR Supreme Court.

[Smolentsev] All right. I shall be prepared to discuss these and other no less crucial problems with you.

Leading CPSU Personnel Lectured on Reforms

PM2712153789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Dec 89 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Cadre Training"]

[Text] A training course for chiefs of the socioeconomic departments of union republic Communist Party Central Committees and party kray and oblast committees has ended at the Institute for improving the skills of leading party, soviet, and ideological cadres of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences.

Key problems of perestroyka and Soviet society's transition to a qualitatively new state oriented toward socialism's humanist values were examined. Measures to improve the economy, ways of and stages in further deepening the economic reform, and fundamental approaches to the elaboration of the 13th 5-Year Plan set out in the government report at the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies were discussed.

During discussions, seminars, and meetings with scientists and specialists there was a broad exchange of opinions on ways to develop diverse forms of socialist ownership, accelerate the pace of scientific and technical progress, raise the people's living standards, increase consumer goods production and develop the services sphere, normalize the situation in the country's consumer market, and transfer regions to the new conditions of management and finance.

Special attention was paid to party organizations' work methods and new directions in their activity. Problems of democratizing the party's cadre policy and of cooperation between party committee departments and local soviet organs were discussed.

During study visits to CPSU rayon committees and enterprises the practical work of Moscow's party organizations in conditions of perestroyka was examined.

Students were addressed by: N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Yu.D. Maslyukov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee; A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Academicians L.I. Abalkin and N.P. Laverov, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; I.I. Skiba and V.M. Falin, chiefs of CPSU Central Committee departments; G.V. Kolbin, chairman of the USSR People's Control Commission; K.F. Katushev and K.Z. Terekh, USSR ministers; V.M. Serov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Construction; K.T. Turysov, secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions; N.A. Stashenkov, G.G. Plekhov, and V.N. Sharkov, deputy chiefs of CPSU Central Committee departments; B.G. Vladimirov, chief editor of EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA; and other leaders of ministries and departments.

Club Participation in Electoral Campaign

90UN0503A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 50, 16-22 Dec 89 p 8

[Report by V. Bokser of the Moscow voters' association in response to a question in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY under headline "During the Current Week the Editors Received 10,390 Questions"]

[Text] **Recently newspapers have been mentioning clubs and associations of voters. Could you tell us about their activities and possible participation in the now-beginning election campaign?**

[Signed] K. Mukhutdinova, Moscow

V. Bokser, member of the Coordinating Council of the Moscow Voters' Association, answers the question.

The first clubs of voters started arising spontaneously during the period of the First Congress of USSR Peoples' Deputies as associations of activists of an election district supporting one or another candidate or candidates. More recently the election movement became stronger. In most cases clubs of voters started functioning in rayon administrative districts and increasingly are arising in microrayons, and also at enterprises and institutions.

At first party and Soviet organs stood aside from the election movement. Recently the picture changed radically. In a number of raykoms, [rayon party committees] rayispolkoms, [rayon soviet executive committees] and the like, it was firmly decided to seek a dialogue with different amateur groupings. Their representatives work with members of already established entities or together try to organize clubs of voters where there are none. In connection with that, some local leaders understand the work with the election movement as a sort-of formal campaign. From this come attempts in a number of cases to impose "apparatus" clubs even where the corresponding reciprocal initiative on the part of the population is lacking. By the way, such a tendency to organize voters' clubs from above is not at all a prerogative of the nomenklatura but is also found among some informals, striving impatiently to "urge on" the course of events.

The idea by itself of consolidating voter clubs, if it involves already formed low-level groupings, is one whose time has come. Similarly, based on rights of association, a voters' club of the USSR Academy of Sciences, "Committee of 19" appeared in Moscow, uniting voters' clubs of 44 enterprises and institutions.

The MOI [Moscow voters association] functions on a similar foundation. It came into being as a union of election teams and support groups of Muscovite USSR peoples' deputies. However, MOI did not stop with aspects of only USSR peoples' deputies' activity, but set itself the task of facilitating the democratization of the electoral process, and assuring the cooperation between voters and deputies of soviets at all levels. Voters' clubs of more than 100 enterprises and institutions, including the USSR Academy of Sciences, entered into this.

In the current election campaign MOI will facilitate the nomination and election of progressive candidates for deputies. Moreover, in a specific district, MOI will be able to support several candidates at a time, who hold views consistent with renewal of society. Informal agreements have been reached with representatives of many public-political organizations on cooperation with MOI.

Comparison of Gorbachev Plenum Report

PM2712152789

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 26 December 1989 carries in its Second Edition on pages 1 and 2 under the heading "Fate of Perestroyka Lies in Party's Unity; M.S. Gorbachev's report at 25 December 1989 CPSU Central Committee Plenum" a version of Gorbachev's report to the plenum. Comparison of the PRAVDA version with the Moscow Domestic Russian version, which appeared on pages 41-51 of the 26 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT under the subhead "Gorbachev 25 Dec Report," reveals the following variations:

Page 41, column one, paragraph one is omitted in PRAVDA, from "The following is..." through "...M.S. Gorbachev's report:"

Page 42, column two, second paragraph, first sentence in PRAVDA reads: "...consequence of someone's arrogant strivings. He emphasized..." (changing "ambitious" to "arrogant");

Page 43, column two, first paragraph, first sentence reads: "...and actions according to old cliches and..." (adding "to");

column two, first paragraph, sentence five reads: "...concessions to the ever harsher demands of..." (correcting "every" to "ever");

Page 44, column two, paragraph five, first sentence reads: "...question' and a provocative appeal is being organized to the United Nations..." (providing alternate translation);

Page 45, column one, first paragraph, first sentence reads: "...that that may even be achieved in 1990. Moreover, it is..." (providing alternate translation);

Page 46, column one, last paragraph, third sentence reads: "...to regard Lithuanian Communists as members of the CPSU and the republic's party committees as CPSU bodies. It is on this basis..." (providing alternate translation);

Page 47, column two, first full paragraph, second sentence reads: "...for ferrous metals, 97 percent of its nonferrous metals, 77 percent of its oil and gas, 75 percent of its chemicals, and 100 percent of its coal..." (deleting extraneous elements);

Page 47, column two, fourth full paragraph, final sentence reads: "...cardinal renewal and recovery.

The aggravation of..." (changing "improvement" [ozdorovleniye] to "recovery");

Page 48, column one, first paragraph, first sentence reads: "...of political culture and passions and emotions bubble over. And..." (adding words);

Page 49, column one, fifth paragraph, first sentence reads: "...concepts of 'barracks socialism'. Unfortunately..." (adding quotemarks);

same paragraph, second sentence reads: "...and worship of 'strong authority' that is capable..." (adding quotemarks);

same paragraph, third sentence reads: "...stems the well-known "cult of order," the "cult of the strong arm," the reasoning about public consciousness "not being prepared" for democratic reforms..." (supplying quotemarks);

Page 49, column two, second full paragraph, third sentence reads: "...the path to humane [gumannyy] socialism, movement on..." (substituting "humane" for "human");

Page 50, column one, paragraph four, second sentence reads: "...we must do is 'win over the federation' all over again..." (supplying quotemarks);

column one, last paragraph, first sentence reads: "...of a federation. It is intended that the creation of such foundations should be promoted by that package of..." (providing alternate translation)

Page 50, column two, fifth complete paragraph, first sentence in PRAVDA reads: "...all understand one very important thing: that..." (correcting "every" to "very").

Scientific

'Cosmos-2054' Satellite Launched 27 Dec

LD2812141489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1349 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, 28 Dec (TASS)—The launch of the latest artificial Earth satellite, "Cosmos-2054," was carried out in the Soviet Union on 27 December 1989, using the "Proton" rocket carrier.

Apparatus to relay telegraph and telephone information in the centimeter-wave range is installed aboard the satellite.

The satellite has been put into a nearly stationary orbit with the following parameters:

—distance from the surface of the Earth: 36,436 km;
—inclination toward the equator: 1.5 degrees;
—period of revolution: 24 hours, 29 minutes.

Apart from the relaying apparatus, on the satellite there are:
—A radio system for accurately measuring elements of orbit;
—A radio telemetry system for conveying to Earth data about the work of onboard apparatus.

The apparatus installed on the satellite is working normally. A coordinating and computing center is processing the incoming information.

Soviet-French Long-Term Space Agreement Signed

907Q0036a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Dec 89 p 12

[Article by S. Leskov: "A Road Into Space 10 Years Long"]

[Text] On 22 December in Moscow an agreement was signed between USSR Glavkosmos (Main Administration for the Development and Use of Space Technology for the National Economy and Scientific Research) and the French National Center for Space Research on a long-term program of cooperation in the area of manned flights to the Soviet orbital complex.

A cosmonaut from France has already worked twice aboard Soviet orbital stations; on both occasions it was Jean-Loup Chretien. The research performed has significantly enriched space science and its mutual benefits have been apparent. However, the previous flights were arranged as one-time agreements and the lack of a long-term perspective impeded cooperation. Now an agreement has been reached on a long-term program of joint research designed for a period of ten years. This program was signed by A. Dunayev, chief of USSR Glavkosmos, and J.-M. Luton, director general of CNES. The first joint flight has already been set for 1992; it will be approximately two weeks long. In all, it is proposed that over the 10 year period there will be five Soviet-French expeditions.

Specific details for the upcoming projects will be coordinated by the recently declassified "Korolev" KB [design bureau], now known as NPO "Energiya" and headed by corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Yu. Semenov. Schedules will be determined in accordance with crew training, equipment and financial capacities.

The entire program of research should bring substantial profit to the national economy since, as distinct from the earlier flights, it is arranged on commercial basis. In this connection it has been specified that disputed questions may be decided by international arbitration.

Research To Include Physics, Medicine

LD2712204389 Moscow TASS in English 1801 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Paris December 27 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Shvets: The French National Space Studies Centre (CNES) and the USSR Chief Administration for the Development and Use of Space Engineering for the Economy and Research (Glavkosmos) have signed an agreement on the organisation of the third Soviet-French space flight.

Under the agreement, a French astronaut will spend 12 days aboard the Soviet space station Mir. The program of the mission, planned for 1992, envisages research in the field of medicine, basic physics and technology, specifically, into semiconductor crystallization in zero-gravity conditions.

Commenting on the signing of the agreement, French Minister of Postal Services, Telecommunications and Space Paul Quiles said in an interview with the newspaper LE FIGARO that Soviet-French cooperation in space exploration gives French specialists a unique opportunity to gain experience in solving problems related to man's stay beyond the boundaries of our planet. This is of particular interest to France in view of the program of building a space shuttle Hermes. Besides, man's flights into space are important from the point of view of science, including for research in biology and space medicine.

Quiles noted that Soviet-French cooperation in space research, which started in 1966, has already yielded considerable results which found application in accomplishing purely earthly tasks, for instance, to develop new medicines. Joint experiments in space are of mutual interest and the new flight will not become an exception in this sense. Both French and Soviet scientists will be able to make use of the results of the French astronaut's work aboard the Mir, Quiles noted.

TASS Reviews 1989 Space Activities

LD2812115389 Moscow TASS in English 1134 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 28 TASS—Soviet cosmonauts Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov have been working aboard the orbiting Mir station for four months.

Today they are conducting medical check ups and biotechnical experiments with the use of U.S.-made equipment, sources at the mission control centre told TASS. They have also begun preparations for a space walk scheduled for early January.

The fourth major mission on the orbiting stations was carried out by Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valeriy Polyakov and finished on April 27, 1989. Volkov and Krikalev spent five months in space and Polyakov spent almost eight months there.

The Mir station was automatically piloted for four months. The re-equipment module Kvant-2 docked with the station on December 6.

A total of 21 cosmonauts, including four foreigners, have worked aboard the station. There have been seven space walks, totaling 27 hours 35 minutes.

Soviet space explorers are expanding their international relations. Japanese and British cosmonauts are new preparing for joint flights aboard Soviet space craft. Austrians will arrive at the Zvezdny cosmonaut training centre early next year. An agreement on a French cosmonaut's flight has been recently signed.

A major international space project, "activny", began in September. A Soviet satellite and a 50-kilogram Czechoslovak sub-satellite were launched from the Soviet space launch centre. For the first time in the history of space explorations, a comprehensive study of powerful electromagnetic waves and their interaction with space plasma is being conducted.

An astrophysical observatory was launched on December 1 to begin to fulfil the Granat large-scale international project. The goal of the experiment is to study sources of X-ray and gamma radiation in the galaxy.

Experts believe that the data obtained during the flight of the Soviet Cosmos-2044 biological satellite and during the Bion international program, carried out onboard, will help elaborate effective measures against undesirable factors of weightlessness.

'Lomonosov' Astronomic Space Project Detailed

LD2912102889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0920 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, 29 Dec (TASS)—TASS correspondent Rena Kusnetsova writes:

Soviet scientists have started drawing up the "Lomonosov" global space astronomical project. Within its framework it is proposed to launch a Soviet space observatory in 1995 or 1996. Yevgeniy Sheffer, a leading staff member of the "Shternberg" Astronomical Institute, reports that the "Lomonosov" project's aim is to create a high precision coordinate system of the entire sky, which could function over a period of 30-50 years.

This task can be resolved only as a result of comprehensive work: A space experiment—the observation of stars by means of a telesecope installed on board of an artificial earth satellite—will become the bassis of this work, the scientist said. This will make it possible to avoid the distortions, which are so inherent in astronometric observations, conducted through the atmosphere. With a view to providing the backup on earth for the space research, it is intended to create a catalogue of 400,000 stars and other celestial objects under special programs.

Of all the technical novelties and contemporary methods, the scientist noted, it is only the astronomic satellite which is for the first time giving scientists the real hope of constructing a uniform readings' system for the whole celestial sphere which would be considerably more accurate than those in existence today.

Yevgeniy Sheffer stressed that the fundamental significance of the "Lomonosov" project comprises of creating a coordinate system for scientific and practical aims, and also of the receipt of information. In particular, a long-term system of coordinates, so necessary for terrestrial astrometry, geodynamics, geodesy, and the study of the solar system will be established.

The Soviet scientist recalled that the "Hipparcos" astronomic satellite was launched on 8 August this year by the European Space Agency in order to resolve analogous tasks. It is proposed that Soviet astronomers will, in the future, compare data received from these two projects. This will allow errors which may exist in either of the projects to be uncovered and eliminated, and both programs also to be mutually embellished and enriched.

International 'Granat' Observatory Starts Work

LD2912085489 Moscow TASS in English 0842 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Mission Control Center December 29 TASS—The international orbiting observatory Granat has successfully completed its check up of on-board systems. Specialists continue regular communication sessions with the space craft to control its exact orbit.

In December experts from the Soviet Space Research Institute, Denmark, Bulgaria and the French nuclear and space centers tested on-board scientific equipment.

The joint analysis of the data showed that the equipment to study space gamma and roentgen radiation is functioning normally.

The experts also registered high solar activity and a great number of powerful and weak roentgen flashes. Granat has also monitored the first space gamma splashes.

In January three major telescopes of the observatory will begin round-the-clock monitoring of active galaxies' nuclei and the giant accumulation of galaxies in the Perseus constellation and supernew components in the large magellanic cloud.

Newsmen Briefed on Radiation Monitoring Data

PM2712161989 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 89 p 1

[K. Belyaninov report on press conference in the Academy of Medical Sciences 21 December under the rubric "Latest News!": "One Secret Less"]

[Text] Life has become difficult. As recently as about 10 years ago any school child could easily have listed all the country's secret organizations: From the KGB to the Ministry of Defense. But later we learned with surprise that almost one in three offices in the country is a facility of "strategic importance."

If we go into detail, then the selfsame Ministry of Health, for example, for many years concealed the existence of 153 medical and sanitary units, 12 scientific-research and experimental-design organizations, and also 100,000 staffers who, in addition to keeping medical secrets, are also keepers of military, space, geological, and other secrets.

The press conference which took place yesterday in the Academy of Medical Sciences was, perhaps, the first meeting between the leadership of the USSR Ministry of Health's third administration and journalists.

[Question] How many cases of radiation sickness have been recorded in Semipalatinsk Oblast?

[Answer] As of August 1949 when the very first test was carried out, not a single case of acute radiation sickness has been recorded, and, consequently, there are no figures for chronic illnesses. Nonetheless now there are about 3,000 people being monitored by us, mainly people living in three rayons—Abayskiy, Beskaragayskiy and Zhanasemeyskiy.

[Question] What about Chernobyl?

[Answer] Today we are monitoring 145 people who have fallen ill.

[Question] Not so long ago in the American part [as published] of Chukotka an increased level of background gamma radiation was recorded.

[Answer] The Leningrad Institute of Radiation Medicine is monitoring the situation in the Extreme North. According to their information, the explosions in Novaya Zemlya cannot have a serious impact on the region on account of the fact that they are carried out very rarely, and even in the most adverse case discharges of "rare" gases simply do not reach the mainland.

[Question] Nonetheless, who is working in the uranium mines?

[Answer] Only civilians. There has not been a single convict there, at least in the last 20 years. The miners' working day lasts 6 hours, and there is very rigorous radiation monitoring in all mines.